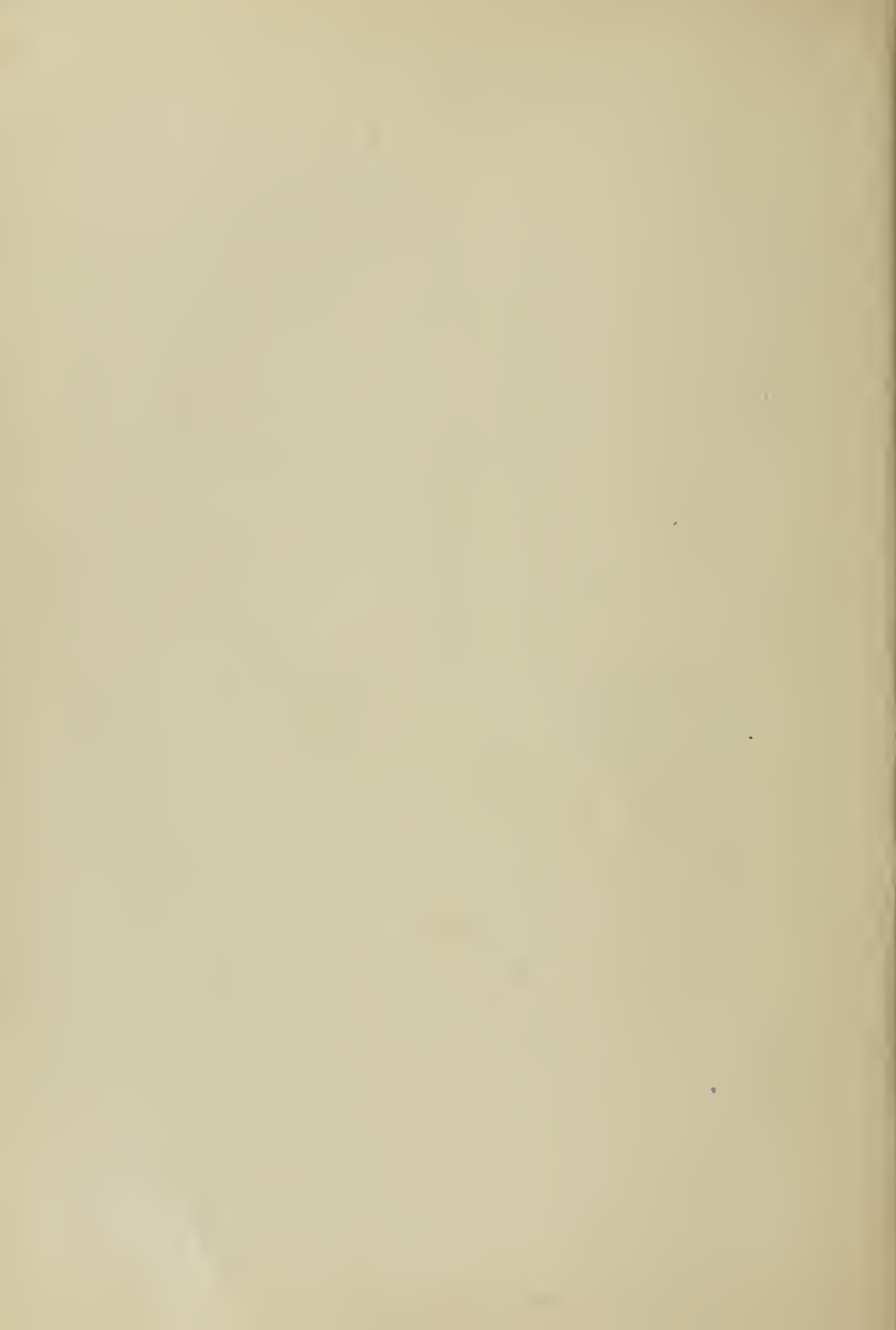


HARPER'S PICTORIAL LIBRARY OF THE WORLD WAR

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VOLUME VI

THE WORLD AT WAR
Revolutions and Social Changes
in Thirty-six Lands





Painting by F. Luis Mora

The Mothers of France

HARPER'S PICTORIAL LIBRARY OF THE WORLD WAR

*In Twelve Volumes
Profusely Illustrated*

FOREWORD BY CHARLES W. ELIOT, PH.D.
President Emeritus, Harvard University

VOLUME VI

The World at War

*Revolutions and Social Changes
In Thirty-Six Lands*

INTRODUCTION BY SIR THOMAS BARCLAY
President of the Institute of International Law

Edited by

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

"E pur si muove!"—the World Moves for a' That!

THIS is what we must not forget in considering the late war. The "World War" was truly "great": the greatest, most terrible, and most widespread visitation which has ever afflicted Mankind in the whole course of even its troubled history. Every quarter of the globe saw actual fighting, while no nation escaped the war's effects.

And yet, looking at the world as a whole, the war is not the whole story. To view the planet during those war-years simply in terms of battles, trench-lines, hospitals, and munition-plants is to distort our vision. Plot out upon the map the actual fighting areas. They are widespread and numerous, sure enough, but measured beside the broad immensity of all lands and seas they shrink to relatively modest proportions. Now, outside those fighting areas—that is to say, over the greater portion of the planet's surface—the stream of life was flowing on; diverted from its normal channels, more or less, but still—flowing on. Even in the belligerent countries, business, politics, the complex routine of civilian life, did not stop. And what was true of the fighting nations was even truer of neutrals, especially distant neutrals like the Latin-American states and our own country before 1917.

Again, we must remember that, just as the war had its effect upon the general life of the world, so the world's life reacted upon and profoundly influenced the course of the war. Debates in legislative chambers, conferences of financiers in city offices, abundant harvests or crop failures, mass-meetings and torchlight processions in political contests, the fine frenzy of poets and the patient research of scholars in dim library alcoves; these and a myriad other happenings, wrought out while the guns were thundering and the battle-lines were clashing, all played their part in the vast world-drama that began in July, 1914.

This volume attempts to depict the world-aspect of that drama. It endeavors to visualize the civilian side of Man's life during the war-years, belligerent and neutral, near and far. What the statesmen and politicians were saying and doing, what the journalists and publicists were writing and preaching, how the peoples were thinking, feeling, acting, in every noteworthy country or colony of the four quarters of the earth; all this I have tried to depict in a verbal cinema film reaching "Around the World."

LOTHROP STODDARD.

New York City,
July, 1919.



INTRODUCTION

Germany's Political Upheaval

BY SIR THOMAS BARCLAY

Formerly President of the Institute of International Law

GERMAN political parties are a mystery to those who have not followed their growth or who are unfamiliar with the character of German internal politics and polity. I mean by polity the political texture as distinguished from policy—its uses, applications and outward effects. Writers complicate the mystery by assuming that German polity is based on an Imperialist system, whereas the German Empire is merely a name which was given in 1871 to the Confederation of States which had already been growing for half a century and had been definitely formed after the war of 1866 with Prussia thenceforward as its sovereign factor. It was a more or less loose confederation, in which the component States yielded the minimum of their administrative independence in the common interest of coöperation as a united whole.

PARTY GROUPINGS

The primary consideration which divided the parties in the common parliament of the Confederation was therefore that of Imperialists against Autonomists—those who sought to strengthen the Imperial or, let us call it (though the term, as a critical reader will perceive, is not quite appropriate) central authority against those who stood for the preservation of all the local autonomy compatible with the defense of common interests.

Another primary source of division was religion. Southern and Western Germany are mainly Roman Catholic. Northern and Central Germany and Prussia are mainly Protestant. This difference which gives the majority to Protestant Germany has led the Roman Catholic minority to create a strong party régime for defense not against the mild Lutheran Protestantism which prevails in Ger-

many, but against lay interference with their traditional control over the popular conscience and education.

A third primary source of division is that of mass against class. The working men of Germany had become practically united under Social-Democracy and against them were united practically all the other parties.

Fourth, there were the agrarian interests arrayed in defense of high prices for their produce against consumers in general; and lastly, the different separatist groups such as Poles, Alsatians, Sleswigers.

To these primary or natural groupings, political parties in Germany under the Empire more or less were bound in all cases of recasting to revert.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LEADERS

In 1880 or thereabouts at Leipzig I met the leaders of the already active but not yet influential Social-Democratic Party. The men who were organizing its methods were Liebknecht and Bebel. The latter was a manufacturer of door-handles. A visit to his warehouse revealed the man. His samples in their glass "vitrines" neatly labeled and tabulated were an introduction to his careful, well-furnished and plentifully documented mind. Where he lived, I never knew—perhaps over his warehouse; but in any case the politician and the manufacturer had different spheres of influence and when he closed his offices to join his political friends, his mind donned the garments of another and different order of ideas. He was essentially German, methodical, thoughtful, practical with a superadded urbanity which made intercourse with him easier than with some of his colleagues of a coarser fiber.

Liebknrecht, his intimate political comrade, was his antithesis. A man of letters, "Bohemian," linguist and scholar, Liebknrecht had lived for a number of years as an exile in England. When I first called on him in one of the outlying industrial and then dirty districts of Leipzig, I discovered his small house through the noisy English of children playing in an untidy little garden—one of whom was no doubt his son Karl, who, as leader of the Spartacists, was killed in the German Revolution.

Liebknrecht was the soul of the little socialist band, Bebel its practical organizer. Liebknrecht regarded his work as a mission, an "Evangelium" he called it, a mission of redemption from the servitude in which the working classes were condemned to live by a state of things from which emancipation could only be achieved by acceptance of his gospel of ultimate delivery. Bebel's work was to bring the forces of the proletariat which had accepted the gospel into line for combat. The two men left their respective impresses on the party, which thus had its Pauls and its Peters and has them still, and this accounts for much in the German Revolution.

GERMAN REVOLUTION UNIQUE

A sort of psychological and political mystery baffles the observer who merely regards the German Revolution as a concrete historical fact. There was no definite break with the past. The violence there was did not place those who resorted to it in power. The men who took the lead and who kept it did not capture or keep it at the bayonet's point. There was a sudden collapse of the existing authority and a substitution for it of men who proceeded by constitutional and legal methods to obtain the national consent to the change. It was so unlike the French and Russian Revolutions that some casual writers and politicians went the length of describing it as "camouflage" and much of the distrust of more responsible persons has been due to this incomprehension. In fact, it seemed too orderly to be real!

Differences of the educational systems of France and Germany account for much of this incomprehension. Their respective systems have created intellectual currents in both. In Germany, Prussia, through her command of

the military system throughout the Empire, has been able, by the very simple method of utilizing the power, to grant reduction of the term of active military service to one year's duration in favor of those who have had a secondary education, and to dictate conditions for that education which are now practically homogeneous for the whole country.

CONTRAST BETWEEN FRENCH AND GERMAN TEMPERAMENTS

Through this secondary education the German middle-class mind has been shaped, it is true, to fit the Prussian model of precision, order and accuracy; but it has also been saturated with the oligarchical hostility to the proletariat and the Jews which is inborn in the governing agrarian class of Prussia.* Nevertheless German education, primary, secondary and higher, has benefited by this development of the spirit of accuracy. The resulting moral qualities are essentially subjective. The accurate man does not deceive himself. If the accurate German deceives others, he does so more consciously than the more superficially educated Anglo-Saxon or Latin who has retained in a greater degree the gift of deceiving himself. On the other hand, the German power of observation is not intuitive: it is a trained and accurate power, not an instinctive gift which leaves a large margin to subconscious activity. The Frenchman feels. The German is taught to distrust feeling in matters of practical life, but as feeling is there and cannot be eradicated by education it reaches expression in uncultured forms of sentimentalism. French education down to now has had a purely cultural tendency. It has not been essentially concerned with training habits of mind. On the contrary, it has rather tended to promote originality and imagination. Knowledge has been instilled into the young mind, not in any particular way or with any view to inducing a spirit of method and order, or as a mere means to an intel-

* It is not to be wondered at that among the leaders of the German Revolution were many Jews. Among them were Haase, Landsberg, Bernstein, Eisner, Cohn. An attempt was made in Berlin early in December, 1918, to arouse any popular hostility to the Jews which might have remained latent and divide the Social Democratic influence, but Anti-Semitism seems now confined to the middle class and the effort failed.

The Jewish element has shown a tendency to side with the Extremists, which is contrary to the ordinary view that Jewish influence is generally on the side of the powerful.



Sir Thomas Barclay

An English publicist of broad experience in the study of international problems.

lectual end, but as a method of broadening the basis and scope of interest in things and events of life generally. It has been essentially psychological, and its result is a tendency to pay less heed to examination and criticism of fundamentals than to presentment of facts in the order of cause and effect. The Frenchman is essentially logical, though often in his hurry to reach conclusions he spends inadequate time in the examination of his premises.

These different tendencies have affected not only the whole trend of politics in Germany and France, respectively, but they account for misunderstandings between two peoples who live and develop on different intellectual planes. The Anglo-Saxon observer is often puzzled by the political attitudes of both. He will understand them better if he pays more attention to these divergent tendencies.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN 1914

At the outbreak of the war German political parties were as they had issued from the election of 1912, when the Social-Democrats came in with a large increase in number. A new Radical Party, who called themselves Democrats and who were more or less in sympathy with Socialistic ideals, had also made its appearance on the political scene. In the course of three elections the Social-Democrats had nearly doubled their number (62 to 112), while the Center (107 to 91) and Conservatives (91 to 72) had steadily lost.

In 1914 the government had the support of over 200 members composed of Conservatives, Center and National-Liberals and was confronted by an opposition which, according to circumstances, fluctuated between 112 and 180.

In general terms, the Conservatives stood for militarism, anti-parliamentarism, protectionism, the divine right of the King of Prussia, and especially agrarian hostility to industry and a perfect horror of Socialism. The National-Liberals represented the unimaginative professional class which Prussian secondary education, as described above, had created throughout Germany, and the Center sold its support to the government at as high a political price as possible. Social-Democracy stood for progressive legislation and social betterment. In August, 1914, it voted with its colleagues—the Right and Center—the necessary money to start on the war, with the exception of Liebknecht, who was the first to separate from the fold. As regards the other members of the party, until February, 1915, there were no outward differences of opinion. From about that time voices, however, were raised against the complicity of the party with Imperialism. Liebknecht was joined by another member (Ruhle) when he this time voted against the military credits. Thirty abstained from voting. Among the latter were Bernstein, Haase and Ledebour. The attitude of Liebknecht and Ruhle aroused great indignation and here the split began. The dissidents published an explanatory declaration condemning the complacent attitude of the party executive and of the majority especially in not having protested against the invasion of Belgium. It was not, however, until December, 1915, that the split took a definite shape. Before the split the Social-Democratic Party was led by Haase. It was he who had succeeded Bebel. Born in East Prussia, an advocate like Liebknecht by profession, Haase is a man of unquestioned political integrity. He had led his party in voting for the military credits on the outbreak of war; but he was the first, on discovering the real nature of the war, to proclaim his determination to detach himself and his party from co-responsibility for it. In this determination he was supported by two of the most thoughtful and respected members of his party—Kautsky and Bernstein. Twenty members of the party followed him, and 24 did not vote. The rest followed the lead of Scheidemann, who thenceforward became the leader of the Social-Democratic majority. From that time he was very much in the public eye in Germany and abroad.

SCHEIDEMANN'S INFLUENCE

Scheidemann at once showed that he had the gift of leadership. It was not the leadership of an opposition leader, but that of a constructive political chief. The majority policy under his guidance became one of opportunism. Adapting himself to circumstances, he consistently demanded some return in domestic policy for every concession in regard to money votes for the continuance of the war. By this Fabian policy he, no doubt, hoped to arrive at more enduring results without revolution than through it, and especially to allay the fears of a large section of the middle class who, at the elections, had voted for Socialist candidates rather by way of protest against an oppressive bureaucratic system than from any deep-rooted political conviction.

To canalize the rising tide of popular anger excited by the lamentable issue of the war, and the suffering its continuance had inflicted on the bulk of a population who felt no sense of responsibility for it, Scheidemann, when the great crisis in the war came, was taken into the counsels of the Empire as a member of the Cabinet. At once he became the obvious arbiter of the Empire's destiny. He rose to the emergency, acted with a discreet avoidance of even violent language, conciliated the timid and made it clear that Social-Democracy was not only constructive but that it approached reform with a statesmanlike appreciation of the difficulties of transition. Even the Kaiser and his family had to accept his masterly management. They saw the hopelessness of a resistance which could only bring about civil war and listened to the thoughtful, cautious man who regarded his party policy as one of national, and not only of class, betterment, who had declined, when he had the option, to join the enemies of his country by refusing supplies when refusal would have meant immediate collapse.*

To him undoubtedly was due the confidence

* It is a cheap form of abuse to accuse those who, when their country is in danger, do not remain true to their earlier convictions but abet a wrong it is too late to alter. To threaten not to vote the necessary money for an impending war is a very different proposition from a refusal to vote the money after the nation is in its throes, and it is wasting breath to blame Scheidemann and the majority Socialists for desertion of the cause of peace while the war was proceeding. A small party whose vote cannot affect the issue may do so, and show courage in doing so; but a large one whose vote counts has a responsibility with which its leaders cannot afford to gamble.

in the action of his party shown at the January election. If it was panic that drove all the sovereigns from their thrones—panic lest the example of the Russian revolution should overtake them—it was the determination of Scheidemann and his party to use their power for the general weal that saved Germany from the fate of Russia.

Scheidemann was too wise to accept the presidency of the new Republic. Ebert, a sensible member of the proletariat, was selected for the post. Scheidemann declined the odium of signing the treaty of peace. He may have thought that its non-signature would be a source of greater embarrassment to the Allies than to Germany. At any rate he is not personally pledged to approval of it and it is not improbable that later on the preservation of his freedom of action may bring greater power to his arm if the strain of its terms proves too great for his country's endurance.

ERZBERGER AND THE CENTER PARTY

The party which holds the second place in the new Reichstag we have seen is the Center or Roman Catholic group, which is led by Erzberger. The term "Center" itself more or less indicates the character of a party which by stepping to one or the other side has it in its power to disturb the parliamentary balance according to its objects and interests. Erzberger, true to the time-honored tradition of his party, has made it necessary to the side which was obviously the winning one. Those who get only a bird's-eye view of the political landscape in Germany look upon Erzberger as a sort of "Vicar of Bray" who adapts his convictions to his retention of office at any price. I am not the keeper of Mr. Erzberger's conscience: it may be so; but there is another explanation, and this is that by making its support indispensable to whatever party is in power he takes office in order to further the influence of his party and the realization of its purposes, which we must assume he regards as being in the national interest.

Long before the war Erzberger had made himself conspicuous by his criticism of the powers-that-be. This was a part of his method to make government conciliatory. In the spring of 1913 he espoused the big navy cause of Admiral von Tirpitz and supported the Ad-

miral's application to the Reichstag for more money to increase the German Navy. But whenever he supported the government, he took care to make it clear that his party might do otherwise. After the Zabern affair, the Social-Democrats proposed to censure the Chancellor by refusal to vote the budget. Erzberger reprimanded him too; he nevertheless led his party to vote with the government and defeated the Social-Democratic proposal. During the war he backed the government without stint. When Prince Max of Baden became Chancellor, he even took office and, associating his party with the coming changes, made it as indispensable to the new man as it had been to the old. Nobody could doubt his parliamentary skill or his power to adapt himself to any situation in which he could promote or preserve the influence of his party. And in fact his party has become more than ever necessary in the new order of things. He was chief delegate in the Armistice Commission. In July, 1919, he became Minister of Finance, thus assuming perhaps the most terrific burden any man can at present shoulder. As such he had not only to overcome the difficulties of raising the money to meet the obligations imposed on Germany by the treaty of peace, but he had to meet them with a debased currency in a country for the time being industrially and financially ruined. One cannot but respect a man who, having the choice of different ministries, had selected the most onerous of them. But it would be a mistake to think he had or has sunk party interests in a purely patriotic *élan*. If the Ministry of Finance is the most difficult, most exhausting of all the public offices, it is also the most influential. From the point of view of personal ambition, Erzberger may become one of the most prominent figures of his time, if he is successful in bringing about a sound financial basis for the regeneration of his country. His idea that by removal of the expense of provincial administrations he can reach a homogeneous impossible mass is obviously a way by which expenditure as a whole can be brought under uniform control. It is a method of centralization, of imperialism; but, if this is a misfortune, it must be laid to the charge of the huge debt payable and not to a method as to which Erzberger had no obvious alternative. The result will be a

closer welding together of the different States now provinces of the Empire. Though the individual States have become republican communities, Erzberger does not propose to leave them any separate right of taxation. Before the war the Imperial Treasury received about two-fifths of the total sum produced by taxation. The other three-fifths went into the local treasuries. Under Erzberger's scheme three-fourths of the proceeds will go to the Imperial Treasury and one-fourth only to the local authorities. Thus the Treaty of Peace may have brought about a closer union than ever of a Germany which the war had practically broken up, besides uniting two political parties who are practically the poles asunder in spirit, ideals and temperament. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose this union to be a *union sacrée*. The basic influences at work lie far deeper than any factitious efforts to blind the public. They are possibly as much connected with a new spirit in the Roman Catholic Church itself as with the new Socialism which seems to be spreading over the world, carrying with it much of the youth and talent of contemporary mankind.

The Center Party has always been opportunist. The Roman Catholic population of Germany, we have seen, is somewhat over one-third as compared with two-thirds Protestant. It sides with power in order to control it, and its policy has been uniformly successful in respect of its influence over details of government. This influence was often occult, cropping up in quite unexpected quarters. Thus, some years ago I was criticizing the program of primary instruction at Berlin to the head of the local authority. He told me he was powerless to get certain reforms introduced because Roman Catholic influence uniformly blocked the way. The fact that the vast majority of the Berlin population is Protestant he said did not matter. The Catholics worked the oracle; the government could not do without their support. Besides, he added, Lutheranism has no policy and is far too mild a religion to have a chance against an enterprising priesthood. The proselytizing influence of the German priesthood, moreover, is backed by no small political ability in the ranks of its parliamentary representatives. The accession to the Reich of German-Austria, which is chiefly Roman Catholic, would,

of course, strengthen the Center Party. It might do so in a considerably larger proportion than it would the democratic parties, though they also would almost necessarily gain strength from the accession of large industrial districts.

Erzberger, a native of Württemberg, owes his personal influence largely to his pen, but still more to his fluent tongue and quick intelligence. His detachment from all forms of Prussianism and his easy-going southern *entre-gent* have not a little to do with his parliamentary success and popularity among the proletariat.

On Scheidemann and Erzberger and their respective parties the future of Germany seems at present in a very large measure to depend. It is a quaint association, but the apparently impetuous Roman Catholic and the outwardly cool and hardy free-thinker have a common factor—they are both experienced in the management of men. In their steering of the new Ship of State they will probably take equal care to keep it off the rocks of irresponsible conspiracy, separatism, reaction and other dangers to which their country in its coming trials will be exposed.

THE CONSERVATIVES

During the war, apart from the Social-Democratic and Center Parties, only the Conservatives assumed any consistent attitude at all; and theirs was just as opposed to government concessions to democracy as Social-Democracy was opposed to the perpetuation of the Prussian oligarchy from which they were recruited. To their obstinate opposition to electoral reform in Prussia their practical extinction as a party is mainly due.

The Conservatives were a considerable body in the Reichstag in 1912, when they numbered 72 members; and even if they had been reduced under proportional representation by six members they would still have been the third largest party. The election of 1919 had reduced them to 33. Their power, however, under the old régime was not in their numbers but in their indirect influence. It must be remembered that of the 68 millions forming the population of Germany (before the war), some 40 millions belonged to Prussia, that Prussia had a Landtag—a parliament of

her own—from which, under a property qualification, practically the whole proletariat was excluded, and that the larger landowners, though an insignificant minority in number, possessed the majority of the votes. The possession of this overwhelming power in the Landtag had a proleptic influence on the action of government, though it was only in conjunction with the Liberals and Center Party that it could operate effectively in the Reichstag.

IMMEDIATE POLITICAL TENDENCIES

Though it would not be safe to rely entirely on a comparison of the distribution of the parties as shown by the elections of 1912 and 1919, as a test for future guidance, the figures are nevertheless important as an explanation of more immediate tendencies. I will draw conclusions after giving the figures. As their symptomatic value is that which they would have had in 1912 under proportional representation, I add the calculations made at the time of the election which in 1919 was held under the proportional representation system.

The election of 1912 gave the Social-Democrats 112 members. Under proportional representation they would have had 161. The election of 1919 gave the majority Social-Democratic Party 164, and the minority 23; in all 187—a real gain as compared with 1912 of 26 members, *real*, of course, in the sense of proportional representation as the standard of comparison.

The next heaviest poll was that of the Center, which in 1912 yielded 81 members. Under proportional representation the party would only have been entitled to 78 members. That the election of 1919 gave them again only 91 members is nevertheless a real gain for the party of 13 members.

The Conservative Party, which represents more particularly the agrarian and landlord influence, in 1912 obtained 72 members. Proportional representation would have reduced them to 66. They were reduced in 1919 to half this number, *viz.*: 33.

The old National Liberals, who were represented in 1912 by 48 members and who were entitled under proportional representation to 57, were badly beaten. They were essentially the burgher party, a party as much out of

sympathy with democracy as the Conservatives. They fell in 1919 to 24—a loss of considerably more than half their real strength in 1912.

A new group, the German Democratic Party, who were a loose burgher formation before the war, had meanwhile grown with the assistance of detachments from other parties, but mainly from the National Liberals, and who were gravitating towards the objects of Social-Democracy, came in 1919 strongly to the front. In 1912 they numbered 46, which was all proportional representation would have given them. In 1919 they rose to 76—a gain of 30 seats, the largest of the election.

Combined, the majority Social-Democrats and the Democrats form a considerable majority over all the other parties together. It is well, however, to bear in mind that without the Democratic contingent the Social-Democrats would only number 164 in a House of some 420; that they would be in a minority with a combination against them of Democrats, National Liberals, and Center who together number 191. This possible combination accounts for a certain procrastination in social legislation which exasperates the Independent Social Democrats, but which cannot be helped so long as the Social-Democrats have to rely on the burgher Democrats for an absolute majority in the House.

This fact is perhaps the most promising symptom in the political situation of Germany. Though the Social-Democratic Party is now stronger than the old block of Conservatives, Center, and National Liberals who number together only 148, the desertion of the Democrats to the old block would put the Social-Democrats even with the assistance of the Independent branch in a minority of 37. The combination with the Center Party shows how anxious the Social-Democratic leaders are to place themselves on a satisfactory footing with the two parties next to themselves in importance. To have, as it were, two strings to their bow in a time of political stress and its consequent flux and reflux is a quite comprehensible policy.

GERMANY POLITICALLY UNDEVELOPED

Politically, the Germans are still undeveloped. Whether this is a good or a bad quality, judging by some examples of other countries

where politics play a more important part in the national activities, may be open to discussion.

One good result of this non-political character of German civilization is that, in municipal government, politics play little or no part in the selection of officials. Men are chosen or retained in office without reference to their opinions, their party bias or their religious convictions. Recently in Germany I was told at Frankfort that the new revolutionary Burgomaster of that city, though the red flag was hoisted on every public building, had not discharged any of the officials on account of their opinions. At Elberfeld the revolution had not prevented the City Council from reinstating their ex-Burgomaster of 1914—an efficient administrator in whose integrity and municipal ability all citizens had confidence. In neither case were the political views of the municipal officials considered as having any connection with the choice; efficiency and integrity were the only considerations that weighed. On the other hand, this respect for local and departmental efficiency has led to abuses from indifference to national interests, and the bureaucracy has acquired a power alarming even to statesmen who are not among the men of to-day. Prince von Bülow was among those who tried to encourage parliamentary control and, in fact, he relied largely on his influence in the Reichstag for support of his policy. That support he derived, it is true, from the "block" he created out of Conservative and Liberal elements, but it was nevertheless a parliamentary block and, if he had been skilfully supported by politicians, he might have brought about the predominance of Parliament without the shock of a disastrous war and revolution.

If Germany had possessed a system of parliamentary government like England or France, the fight between Bethmann-Hollweg and Tirpitz on the question of submarine warfare, and the latter's ruthless maritime policy, would have been one between the different parties on whom their retention of office respectively depended. In Germany the battle raged between contending military and civil factions who bid for the Kaiser's support, and all the motions in Parliament were without effect.

Even the poor-spirited remnant of the National Liberal Party during the war revolted at the indifference of government to the views of Parliament and raised its voice in favor of a parliamentary committee to exercise control over the dealings of the Foreign Office. They even joined the Social-Democrats in their effort to obtain reform of the Prussian Election Law; and, in fact, as regards election reform, the government did eventually agree to the formation of a committee of which Scheidemann was appointed chairman.

In conclusion, the new German Republic starts with much in its favor, notwithstanding the drastic character of the Treaty of Peace. It is relieved of the expense of Army, Navy and colonies. Its proletariat has learnt by famine the connection between labor and food. It has learnt to see the country as a whole, a country welded by the blockade into a united nation dependent for its redemption and prosperity on social peace. Employer and employed have lost no time in getting together; and if other peoples do not hasten to put their houses similarly in order, they may find that even overwhelming defeat has redeeming features when national vitality is not sapped by internal unrest.

The World at War

ENGLAND'S DUTY NOBLY DONE

Though Pacifists Storm and Socialists Strike, the Sound Heart of Britain Wins the Victory

IMMEDIATELY preceding the great catastrophe of 1914 all Europe was seething with social unrest and civil strife. Every country rocked with the dynamic outbursts of social and political movements, seeking to gain their ends through revolutionary rather than evolutionary methods. Of no country did this appear to be more true than of Great Britain. Industrial conflict seemed driving the land into a class-war; militant suffragists were assaulting recalcitrant ministers and causing alarm in every peace-loving English heart; the Irish question was fast being clouded by passion. At the opening phase of the great European crisis, in July, 1914, blood was actually flowing in Ireland; Irish Nationalists and British regulars were trying to settle the problem of Home Rule by the sword. So immersed was the British people in its internal difficulties, that for a time it failed to notice the black storm that was looming along the horizon, ready to burst upon the world in torrents of blood. Suddenly the British people woke with a start. Peril and death stared Europe in the face. They saw the desperate efforts of their Foreign Minister to keep the tremendous forces from clashing. And as they saw the awful implications of the impending conflict, a silence fell upon all the contradictory and quarrelsome voices of the country. All parties drew together: Unionists, Liberals, Laborites, Nationalists—all forgot their differences. The Lion stood at bay against the menace of German militarism.

Saturday, August 2nd, was a tense and fateful day. England trembled with anxiety. The churches were filled with bowed heads, praying for the preservation of peace. In official circles ministers were rushing hither and thither, doing what little they could to stave off the calamity that was coming upon them like a whirlwind. Six thousand people marched to Buckingham Palace, sang British and French national songs, cheered and shouted for the King and Queen. Next morning anxious London awoke to read that Germany had violated the neutrality of Luxembourg—had invaded France—had sent an ultimatum to Belgium. Again crowds besieged Buckingham and Whitehall, and cheered the leaders of both parties indiscriminately. Then came the crisis: Grey asked Germany point blank, "Will you or will you not respect the neutrality of Belgium?" Measured and cynical came the answer: "Necessity knows no law." The war was on.

THE CRUSADE

Almost at once the national tendency toward infusing great moral issues into the conflict of forces asserted itself. Jingo outbursts were rare. The national temper was dignified, serious, and exalted. The press voiced a stern and lofty resolution. The dominant note was that this was a "war to end war." The government called volunteers to the colors as to a Holy War. In one of his speeches during the recruiting campaign,

Premier Asquith declared that, sooner than be a silent witness—which meant a willing accomplice—of the intolerable wrong done in Belgium, he would see Great Britain blotted from the page of history. The cynical violation of Belgian neutrality was only a first step in a campaign against the autonomy of the free states of Europe, whose free develop-



Lord Roberts

For years he advocated compulsory military service for Great Britain. He died in 1916.

ment was a capital offense in the eyes of those who had made force their divinity. This was not merely a material but a spiritual conflict. In the spirit which animated Britain in her struggle against Napoleon she must now persevere to the end. On the basis of this trumpet-blast for a crusade, the leaders of all parties swept the country imploring the young men to enlist. The army was put into the hands of Lord Kitchener, of Khartoum—"K. of K.," as he was affectionately called by the people of England—and a huge effort was made to raise an army of a million men by voluntary enlistments.

INDUSTRIAL UNREST—1915

Above all else, one thing was clear. The British people were practically united in their desire for victory. All eyes were straining toward the front, for there the fate of the world was being fought out. It was evident that the army must be backed up by industry at home. And on this point England was twice troubled. In various trades, especially those connected with the manufacture of munitions, heavy demands were made upon the working capacities of the men. English labor was sweating and straining in a gigantic effort to pour supplies to the fighting units in the trenches. Workers cried out bitterly that they were not receiving a fair share of the profits which were rolling into the coffers of their employers. March found the country deeply disturbed over a strike of 10,000 engineers on the Clyde. The government hastened to arbitrate the dispute. Soon the workers in the shipyards began to grumble. The government was alarmed. Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, called a conference of 35 trade unions, where a compromise arrangement was made for arbitration of industrial disputes. But this had little effect upon the sullen temper of labor. The extremely class-conscious labor unions persisted in regarding the war as the product of capitalist diplomacy. Labor leaders like Keir Hardy and Ramsay Macdonald refused to give the war their support. The Union for Democratic Control, the leading radical organization, was demanding an early and compromise peace. Pacifists like Bertrand Russell were shouting from the house-tops that war was evil on principle and urging the people not to enlist. This had a tremendous effect on labor. Its efforts slackened. Kitchener warned Britain, almost frightened it, by announcing that only munitions could win the war and that "the output is not equal to our necessities."

DRINK—THE KAISER'S ALLY

These industrial problems were dampening the spirit of the English people. Lloyd George cried out in one of his speeches to workingmen: "I beg of you as a man brought up in a workingman's home, do not set the sympha-

thy of the country against labor by holding back its might . . . when the poor old country is fighting for its life." He was exploring the munitions workers especially. Drink, he said, was wasting 80 per cent of wasted time at a time when their fellow countrymen were dying. "We are fighting Germany, Austria, and Drink!" he said, "and as far as I can see, the greatest of these three deadly foes is Drink." Over this problem the whole country was concerned. The King wrote Lloyd George a letter expressing his anxiety over "the grave situation now existing at the armament factories. . . . The continuance of a such a state of things must inevitably result in the prolongation of the horrors and burdens of this terrible war." The King offered to set the nation an example by forbidding the use of wine, spirits, or beer in his own household, and when he actually did so on Easter Monday of 1915, he was imitated by Lord Kitchener and a host of other national figures.

BRITAIN PESSIMISTIC

These facts gradually began to shake the calm optimism of the nation. There were other facts that gradually began to sink into the complacent British mind, facts too terrible to be ignored. A series of crushing disasters was threatening the very existence of the country and of civilization. The great Austro-German offensive in Galicia had torn Poland away from Russia. Serbia and Montenegro were ground to dust in the red mills of war. Bulgaria had been won to the Teutonic cause. The road was thus opened to Turkey, and Britain, after a severe loss of men and ships, had to withdraw from Gallipoli. By the end of 1915 the military prospects of the Allies were dark indeed. What was the trouble? Despite a rigid censorship, the British public was learning to its dismay that the Allied reverses were due to the muddling, the ineptitude, the indecision of the government. Easy-going and good-natured Britain suddenly learned with a start that the failure in Northern France was due to a faulty munitions system; that the disasters in Mesopotamia and Gallipoli were due to blundering strategy; that the Balkan collapse was due to short-sighted diplomacy.

Under the intense pressure of the World War the British governmental machine was breaking down. Voices all over the country, alarmed at the deadly consequences of inefficiency, began to call for reform. Leading newspapers took up the task of educating the public up to the tremendous issues at stake and the dangers of inefficient government in



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Ramsay Macdonald

Scotch Labor leader during the war and member of Parliament from Leicester.

war time. The slogan of their campaign was, "Wake up, England!" Dr. Dillon, a famous publicist, cried out a warning to his countrymen: "Unless we quicken our movements, damnation will fall on the sacred cause for which so much gallant blood has flowed." Later he wrote, "We are not winning the war, nor are we adopting the means to win it. . . . The result has been to inoculate the nation with the bacteria of general paralysis. A little while longer and we shall be sloughing into irreparable disaster."

Such were the stern warnings emphasized by yet sterner facts.

ZEPPELINS, SUBMARINES, AND A WOMAN

The alarm of the British people at the military results of 1915 was augmented by raids of Zeppelins and submarines. Into the very homes of England the enemy brought the brutality of war. Far from the field of battle, into the English cities studded with

convenient hiding places. Many of those who could not take cover were killed. Then the British guns would boom into the night, the foe would be brought down or perhaps escape, the policemen would scurry round town once more with placards announcing, "All Clear." And London would turn to its business. But not before victims lay dead and wounded in



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London from the Tower of Westminster Abbey

This historic tower, closed for the period of the war was opened again by permission from the military authorities soon after the signing of the Armistice. The men surveying London are New Zealand soldiers.

churches and school-houses, crashed the bombs of airmen. These air-raids often took place at night, wrecked houses and killed children in their sleep. London became an extraordinary city at night. The searchlights of the British air-defense batteries would sweep the sky with broad belts of light and illumine the swift German messengers of death. Immediately policemen on bicycles would scurry down the streets carrying placards: "Take Cover." Men and women and children would creep into cellars or the subways, or other

the streets of a peaceful city. At the same time German submarines were taking a heavy toll of British shipping—and then came the tragedy of the *Lusitania*. The people of England cried out for reprisals and for an effective victory which would crush the ruthless and barbarous foe.

The execution of Edith Cavell, October 13, 1915, roused the same cries: "It is a deed," said the *Daily Mail*, "which in horror and wicked purposelessness stuns the world and cries to heaven for vengeance."

LLOYD GEORGE—MINISTER OF MUNITIONS

In the face of all these fateful problems—the unrest of labor, the military defeats, the pacifist opposition to the war, the Zeppelin and submarine raids—the zeal of the British people for victory did not diminish. But the cries for reform grew more and more insistent. The Liberal Cabinet under Asquith saw a storm about to burst over their heads. They could not stand alone. Members of the Opposition were asked to serve in a coalition cabinet, and an attempt was made to handle the various grave problems. The problem of munitions was pressing. To meet it, a new ministry of munitions was appointed with Lloyd George at the head. He was known to be a fighter, a powerful orator, and popular with labor. Let him show his power by a personal appeal to the workers of England. So he devoted himself to the cause. Like a whirlwind he swept the country, pleading, exhorting, threatening. But he did not always meet with a sympathetic reception; labor had little faith in the government. "It is the deluge!" cried Lloyd George to a meeting of trade unionists in Glasgow. "It is a

cyclone—an earthquake. We might tell the Kaiser frankly that we cannot go on; but he certainly would demand that Great Britain surrender her command of the seas, and Great Britain would then be as completely at the mercy of Prussian despotism as Belgium is to-day." But on those workers influenced by the pacifist and Socialist teachings of MacDonald and Shaw this appeal made little effect. "Whom do you trust?" pleaded Lloyd George. "Nobody!" answered the crowd with one voice. "We must have 80,000 skilled workmen to man munition factories," said the minister. "You won't get them!" shouted some one in the crowd. Such was the temper of large sections of British labor. The situation became desperate. Shells were needed at the front if the armies of the Allies were not to be hurled back in bitter and shameful defeat. At Manchester Lloyd George threatened industrial conscription. If British labor would not work of its own free will, it would be forced to do so. This threat had as little effect as pleading. In the spring of 1916 a tremendous strike broke out on the Clyde which almost paralyzed the arm of England.



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The Right Honorable David Lloyd George

Whom the English people recognized as the hope of the Empire during the World War.

SLACKERS

The seriousness of the situation created by those laborers who shirked their duty, or considered wages more important than national safety, was complicated by a different type of slacker. England was trying to fight a war on a volunteer basis. Thousands had responded to the call, but thousands more were needed. Posters covered the walls, imploring men to rush to the defense of their



A British Recruiting Poster

country and its ideals. Ministers and other leaders of the nation toured the country in an effort to raise recruits by speeches. Still there were painful gaps to be filled. Lord Derby suggested a scheme calculated to appeal to the young men. At a public meeting at Liverpool he urged that "pals" and acquaintances, youths working in the same office or shop, or in the same business, or personal chums, should enlist together to serve side by side in the trenches. The idea was popular. A number of "pal" regiments were formed. Still Britain needed men, thousands of them. Newspapers began to incite the people against "slackers"—those who could enlist and refused. As the passion

of England arose, the anger against the slackers became so intense that girls went about pinning the white feather of cowardice upon the coats of young men not in uniform. This drove many of them into the ranks. Still England needed more men.

CONSCRIPTION

As the strain of war bore more and more heavily on the English, more radical measures were called for. The prosecution of the war on a voluntary basis was seen to be impossible. The hesitation, indecision, incompetence, and unorganized opportunism of the government was driving the country to disaster. Newspapers and publicists began to cry loudly for a complete overhauling of British policy, and the introduction of compulsory military service. "Temporary autocracy is what we need during a struggle like the present," urged Dr. Dillon. "Respect for individual liberty and parliamentary rights should give way to considerations of a higher order for the sake of more momentous issues." The Asquith cabinet saw no way out but to meet both the man-power and munitions problems by conscription. The opening weeks of 1916 found the country in an uproar over the bill proposed by the government. It was a distinct and important departure from Britain's traditional policy. The question of the conflict between conscription and the tradition of individual liberty of every Englishman was on every English lip. The government and the press pointed trembling fingers to the front where the soldiers of Britain were bleeding and dying, waiting for reinforcements which could not be raised by voluntary enlistments. On the other hand the masses of Great Britain dreaded the use of compulsion on the part of a government it did not trust. A congress of organized labor voted against conscription by the overwhelming vote of 1,998,000 to 783,000. Another congress, meeting at Bristol and representing over 2,000,000 members of trade unions, violently attacked the proposed conscription bill. "No form of words," cried one of the speakers, "can offer immunity from danger. We cannot have forced military service without the risk of forced industrial service. Any attempt to use this weapon to coerce trades unionists will

lead to great bitterness and end in failure." Ireland, too, bristled with opposition to compulsory military service. For months the country resounded with the clash of words. The controversy caused a serious crisis in the cabinet. The three Labor members, who had voted in favor of conscription, were forced to resign by their more radical constituents. By April, after more than a half year of vacillation and feeling the pulse of the country,

Here and there were a few riots, such as America had in the Civil War. During the first half of September, when the measure went into effect, the public was considerably annoyed by the zeal of the army authorities in enforcing registration. Crowds were disturbed in theaters, railway stations, football fields, public parks and similar places by bands of soldiers and police who were out "rounding up recruits." All men who looked of



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Down With Conscription!

A scene at a meeting at the Smithfield Market, London, in the winter of 1915, where a great throng gathered to protest against conscription.

wavering between the press and the populace, the Asquith cabinet suddenly found itself face to face with political ruin. The recruiting campaign was a failure. The army was in danger of defeat. Britain was tottering on the brink of ruin. The issue could no longer be postponed. The Conscription Bill was finally passed.

military age were stopped and asked for evidence of exemption. Some protests were raised against this method. It was attacked as an introduction of Prussian militarism into free England, as an undue interference with the rights of the individual, and after a few weeks was considerably ameliorated.

BRITAIN SUBMITS

The country waited with baited breath. What would labor do? Would the masses revolt against this manner of maintaining an army? Weeks passed and nothing happened.

MARTYRS OR TRAITORS?

An exception to the general submission of the nation must be made in the case of over 20,000 conscientious objectors to military service. These were mainly Quakers, radicals, internationalists, and Tolstoyans. There was

among them a sprinkling of frauds, but these were soon weeded out by severe treatment. The majority seem to have been men sincerely opposed to war on principle, or at any rate, they so impressed some of Britain's leading men. The conscientious objectors who were drafted into the army and refused to perform any military duties were treated so terribly by well-intentioned officers who knew of no

dismissed from Cambridge for espousing the cause of the conscientious objectors. The head-master of Eton, one of England's most exclusive preparatory schools, was forced to resign for entertaining similar ideas. A storm of criticism, led by Professor G. Lowes Dickinson of Oxford, burst upon the heads of the Cambridge authorities. Olive Schreiner and John Galsworthy came to the defense



Courtesy of Leslie's Weekly.

A Recruiting Scene Under England's Volunteer System

From audiences such as this, officers, after impassioned appeals, would beg for one recruit to step forward from the crowd. Sometimes such requests were met with silence, at other times a few men would come forward.

other method to treat the strange phenomenon that a certain amount of public sympathy was created. The affair came to a head when C. H. Norman, who had attacked all forms of militarism years before the war, was straight-jacketed by army officers. Bernard Shaw, Hilaire Belloc, and Professor Gilbert Murray, although disagreeing with Norman's views, came to his defense as a man entitled to abide by the dictates of his conscience. The excitement increased when Bertrand Russell, England's best-known philosopher, was

of the people whose conscience seemed more important than their country. And not until the war was over did England get rid of the thorny problem raised by these individuals. But their resistance had no perceptible effect upon the rapid massing of an army by conscription. Whatever sympathy the public may have had for those conscientious objectors who were sincere in their convictions did not display itself in emulation. The vast majority of the English people, now that the problem of man-power was settled, were ready

to push on to victory. Men and women of all classes put their backs to the wheel and made every possible sacrifice. One British writer, Boyd Cable, tells us during the middle of 1916: "We are going to have all we have hoped for" through "the sudden concentrated patriotic effort of a whole people." He tells of "hundreds and hundreds of great factories where a few months ago were open fields, in which to-day thousands upon thousands of men, women, and girls are toiling to turn out guns, guns, and yet more guns, and millions upon millions of shells of every possible caliber."

THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION

Conscription was a good instrument for solving the pressing problem of man-power. But it soon became apparent that the government which was running the machinery was wholly inadequate for the crisis. Lloyd George, backed by the Northcliffe press,

pounded away. As Minister of War he shouted above the dull thunder of the conflict: "More men! More men! Why doesn't the government get more men!" The question of Rumania, too, showed the weakness of the government. That poor country was in the grasp of the foe, writhing in a desperate effort to escape, and calling for help. "We have not the least doubt," Lloyd George told the House, "that Germany is concentrating her strength in order to crush Rumania." But what was England going to do about it? It soon became apparent that the trouble lay not with the men in power, but with the nature of the government. Publicists all over the country began crying for a complete reorganization of the government—a political revolution by the mere consent of Parliament. "The British government as at present constituted," wrote J. Ellis Barker, a well-known political writer, "is not the organization of efficiency, but its negation. It is an organization similar to that which



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Lord Mayor's Show in London

Captured German guns passing through the streets of London.

caused the downfall of Poland. It is the organization of disorganization. Amateurs are bound to govern amateurishly, and their insufficiency will be particularly marked if they have to run an unworkable government machine and are pitted against perfectly organized professionals." No mere replacement of a Liberal by a Conservative cabinet would suffice, for "it is questionable whether another set of amateurs will do better than the



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Winston Spencer Churchill

Great Britain's Lord of the Admiralty at the outbreak of the World War.

present one. The fault lies chiefly in the system. Government by debating society has proved a failure. It should be abolished before it is too late." What was wanted was practically a dictatorship by experts who could guide Britain through the terrible peril. The defeat of Rumania was the climax. A fierce battle broke out in Parliament and the press between the Asquith cabinet and its critics over the conduct of the war. The cabinet could not stand up under the blows. It collapsed. Lloyd George seized the reins of government, and began to conduct the war

on a business basis. The control of the war was taken out of the hands of Parliament and the cabinet and was placed in the hands of the new Premier and a committee of five. Lloyd George struck down the policy of "muddle through" and called out to England, "Full speed ahead!" He sought in every possible way to bring the seriousness of the war home to the people. He showed the people that he was ready to carry on the struggle in a determined and relentless manner. And to secure victory England submitted to this complete overturning of her system of government. For the "wait-and-see" policy of the Asquith cabinet, which had become a bitter jest in the mouths of the depressed public, the new régime introduced a "combing out" policy. Everything was combed out—the War Office, the slackers, the red tape, the food extravagance, transportation, the Navy. The entire machinery of the country was coördinated and given a tremendous push toward victory.

THE FOOD CRISIS

The titanic energy displayed by the country with the coming of Lloyd George to power brought the war nearer to the average Englishman. But there was something that brought it much nearer still, and with much more drastic implications. The early part of 1917 saw a startling increase in the sinking of ships by German submarines. Not only were precious English vessels lying at the bottom of the sea, but English homes were threatened with famine. The president of the British Board of Trade put the matter succinctly when he said: "The effect of the submarine war upon the existence of the British Empire is simply this—that we cannot continue to bring into this country all the supplies and materials required for our existence, for the continuance of the war, and for the actual needs of our industries." Those were dark days for Britain. The people were asked to institute a system of voluntary rationing, to give up the use of some commodities and restrict that of others. But the voluntary plan worked no better in the food situation than it did in the man-power situation. The government had to resort to a compulsory reduction in the use of certain commodi-

ties, particularly bread and sugar. Meatless days and potatoless days were introduced. The police were empowered to search private houses to prevent food hoarding. The people coöperated with the government as fully as possible, grimly submitting to all regulations for the sake of victory.

HAIL AMERICA!

Into this gloomy situation the entrance of America into the war came like a burst of sunlight. The moral support which this implied was immediately felt. People danced and cheered in the streets. Lloyd George triumphantly declared that America's step "gives the final stamp and seal to the character of the conflict as a struggle against military autocracy throughout the world. The fact that the United States of America has finally made up its mind makes it clear that this is no war for aggrandizement and for conquest, but a great fight for human liberty." As important as the moral support which America gave was the money, food, and ships which she placed at the disposal of the exhausted Allies. In every way the British people felt relief at the entrance of America. In speaking of the submarine peril, Lloyd George said, "We owe a very considerable debt of gratitude to the great American people for the effective assistance they have rendered and the craft they have placed at our disposal. Now that the American nation is in the war it is easier to make arrangements for the protection of our merchant marine than it was before." Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, declared that it was American dollars which would win the war. The masses of England were once more filled with hope, and threw every ounce of their strength into the struggle.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Britain had now been in the war for three years. Her dead were lying in windrows over the fields of France and Flanders. And yet victory did not seem in sight. All the sacrifices, the self-imposed fasting, the sweating in munitions factories, the tragic toll of sunken ships, seemed to be leading to the extinction of civilization. Many British thinkers became alarmed at the possible conse-

quences of a bloody war of attrition. Whither would it lead? "If the war lasts long," wrote Bertrand Russell, "all that was good in the ideals of Germany, France, and England will have perished, as the ideals of Spartans and Athenians perished in the Peloponnesian War. All three races, with all that they have added to our civilization, will have become exhausted, and victory, when it comes, will be as barren and as hopeless as defeat." Francis W. Hirst, the well-known editor of



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The Tower of London

The famous old palace and prison of royalty.

the *Economist*, wrote: "Of course you want to crush your enemy in war. Of course you want victory. Of course you wish your enemy to admit that he is beaten and to sue for peace. But equally of course, unless you are misled by a false and flimsy rhetoric, you do not want to destroy the society, the traditions, the wealth, and the happiness of your own people. You do not want to see your allies ruined for the sake of reducing an enemy to abject despair. So, when attrition and exhaustion have reached a certain point, you are willing to discount the future and to take counsel with the still small voices of reason and common sense."

These remarks cost Mr. Hirst his editorship, but the tendency which they represented remained. In addition to the pacifist element which opposed all war on principle and this war from the very beginning, there was a group in England which wanted victory, but on a "liberal" basis. This group, growing larger as the war went on, later rallied to the "fourteen points" outlined by President Wilson, but in the early part of 1917 they



Courtesy of Red Cross Magazine.

Lord Northcliffe

A famous British newspaper proprietor, who, in spite of criticism, was a great patriot during the war.

had another standard. The Russian Revolution had so shaken the earth that even England trembled with the shock of it. The radical elements of labor immediately cheered the new Soviets and their slogan of "no annexations, no indemnities, free development of all nationalities." The cry of the Soviets for a peace by negotiation was loudly reëchoed by English labor under the leadership of Robert Smillie, Ramsay Macdonald, Philip Snowden, and William C. Anderson. A congress of Socialist and pacifist organizations held at Leeds wired to Petrograd: "The larg-

est and greatest convention of labor, socialist, and democratic bodies Great Britain has held in this generation to-day endorsed the Russian declaration of foreign policy and war-aims and pledged itself to work through its newly constituted Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates for an immediate and democratic peace." Laborites, radicals, and liberals all over the country urged for immediate steps to negotiate peace. "Let the Allies at least state their aims, so that we may know what we are fighting for!"

A FIGHT TO THE FINISH

As the movement became stronger and the desire for a pronouncement of Allied aims more and more insistent, Lloyd George found himself forced to make a statement. At a great mass-meeting at Glasgow he proclaimed that the "war will come to an end when the Allied armies have reached the aims which they set out to attain when they accepted the challenge thrown down by Germany. As soon as these objectives have been reached and guaranteed, this war will come to an end, but if the war comes to an end a single minute before, it will be the greatest disaster that has ever befallen mankind." This, however, was too vague for the "Liberals." At another meeting where the Premier spoke a crowd of radicals, gathered outside the hall, marched up and down, singing "The Red Flag," hooting and jeering, calling for an immediate democratic peace. The cheers of the majority of people drowned out the demonstration of these malcontents, but their action was significant. The great *Daily Mail* urged that "when the former subjects of the Russian emperor are foremost in demanding a statement of the war aims of democracy, the force of the demand is irresistible." To all these insistent demands Lloyd George replied that Britain could not rest until victory was in its grasp.

THE LANSDOWNE LETTER

The movement for peace had so far confined itself to Socialist and pacifist circles. At congresses and conferences, on soap-boxes and platforms, in Hyde Park and in labor temples, these people cried for a statement of Allied

aims. Britain, they said, was tired of fighting in the dark. The movement raised its head in Parliament when the pacifist group introduced a resolution calling for a state-

crat and a Tory, wrote a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, calling upon the Allies to state in general terms their war aims, so that peace might be brought about before "the prolonga-



English Poster for Women's Land Army

ment of war aims. The resolution was rejected by an overwhelming vote. But soon a political bomb burst in England. Lord Lansdowne, a famous statesman, an aristo-

crat and a Tory, wrote a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, calling upon the Allies to state in general terms their war aims, so that peace might be brought about before "the prolonga-

downe asked, "What are we fighting for? To beat the Germans; certainly. But that is not the end in itself. . . . What then is it we want when the war is over?" He urged that an immense stimulus would be given to the peace party in Germany if it were understood that the Allies did not desire to annihilate Germany as a great power, or to impose upon her people any form of government they do not wish, or to deny her a place among the great commercial communities of the world; and also that, when the war was over, England would be prepared to enter into an international pact under which ample opportunities would be given for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. This letter met with great opposition. British war-psychology would brook no suggestions of forgiving and forgetting the foe's crimes and wiping the slate bare at the end of the struggle. A storm of protest arose from every quarter but that of the avowed pacifists and Socialists. Bonar Law called the letter a disaster. The *London Times* predicted that Lansdowne would be the most popular man in Germany and Austria. The majority of London papers characterized his act as a camouflaged surrender. He was waving the white flag, yielding to Germany. After the first storm had abated, Lloyd George gave the official answer: Great Britain was going to see the war through, on the principles laid down by President Wilson. "I agree," he said, "with President Wilson. . . . I warn the nation to watch the man who thinks there is a half-way house between victory and defeat. These are the men who think you can end the war now by some sort of what they call peace—by setting up a league of nations. That is the right policy after victory; without victory, it would be a farce." About the President's fourteen points all factions, practically, were able to rally. The peace movement slackened. All hands were again straining toward victory, and did not falter until victory came in November of 1918.

THE RESTLESS CRATER

Throughout the war the restless volcano of labor erupted now and again in some violent form. At one period of the struggle the *London Times* came out with a sensational

series of articles warning the country that labor was in a revolutionary ferment. It was a fact that in 1917, despite the rigid application of the Defense of the Realm Act, the number of strikes increased. Enraged by the abnormally high cost of living as contrasted with the abnormally high profits which some of the great employers were making, labor now and again would sullenly throw up work, tying up some particular industry until the government stepped in to pacify it by some compromise award. Only by a skilful combination of pleading and threats was the masterful and popular Lloyd George able to avert a huge coal strike which might have so crippled England that she would have succumbed to the merciless enemy pounding away at her armies. In the early part of 1918 a great strike of engineers was barely stopped. During that strike, Mr. Arthur Henderson, a famous labor leader and former member of the cabinet, issued an address in which he thus summed up the situation: "The temper of the workingmen is most dangerous. The unyielding temper of the government is bringing the country to the verge of industrial revolution, and unless a more just and reasonable attitude is adopted, I am seriously apprehensive that an irreparable break between an important section of industrial labor and the government will ensue." Everybody in England knew that when the war was over the temporary unanimity of the classes would be over, too. When the aims of the war had been clearly set forth by President Wilson, the chief topic of discussion in Britain was "reconstruction." The British Labor Party issued a platform advocating a supernational tribunal to settle all international disputes; the universal enforcement of a national minimum wage; a revolution in national finance—in taxation and the use of surplus wealth for the common good; and the democratic control of industry. "If we are to escape the decay of civilization," said the report, ". . . we must ensure the building up of a new social order." This platform was a rallying point for all radicals in the country and was preparatory to the great and momentous parliamentary election which was impending.

It was clear that the fabric of British society was rudely shaken.

TAKING STOCK

By the end of 1918 the World War was over, and Britain was one of the victors. Hundreds of thousands of its best sons had

war ceased, and the country was ready to take up the problems which the deluge had left in its wake. The first thing to do was to elect the proper body to handle these problems. When the war caught England with



A Woman Worker in a Scottish Iron Foundry

She successfully operated a heavy machine for planing boiler-plates.

been killed; more still had been wounded; the people at home had starved themselves, sweated themselves, sacrificed themselves. But the object of the grim and bloody four years was achieved. With a mad shout of joy, Britain grounded arms, the horrible strain of

startling suddenness, the government had decided to postpone the regular elections for parliament until the crisis was over. Now England was ready for the choice. It was a momentous and fateful choice, on which depended the most vital issues. The new

government would have to make peace, settle the thorny Irish question, handle the cost of living which had risen 80 per cent. since 1914, and stop the industrial earthquake which was shaking the country from one end to the other. Miners, dock-laborers, engineers, shipbuilders—all were shaking their mighty fists in the face of the country, de-

ference with the authority of the people be hind them. Somebody must be entrusted with a strong mandate to carry through the giant work of reconstruction in the next few years. The choice in this country lies between fundamental unity and fundamental disaster. Those who do not vote for coalition will vote with certainty for chaos. The only effective op-



English Women Munition Workers Assembling Fuses

In one of the many factories that were erected by the Minister of Munitions.

manding lower hours and higher wages, roaring revolutionary phrases which had been wafted over from Bolshevik Russia. On behalf of these raging workers loomed the Socialist and Labor parties, threatening to be swept into power on the crest of a great tidal wave of labor unrest.

The issue was very clear. It was thus outlined by *The Observer*, which advocated a coalition cabinet with Lloyd George at the head: "Somebody must go to the Peace Con-

ponents of coalition are the advocates of Bolshevism and civil strife of classes. Let no one be deceived. These are the issues." But the issues soon changed, or rather were changed by the power behind Lloyd George—the press controlled by Lord Northcliffe. The issue became one of drastic punishment for Germany and the exaction of huge indemnities for her brutalities in Belgium and France and on the high seas. The result of the elections was a stinging rebuke by the

voters of Great Britain to the Laborites and Socialists, who had dallied with pacificism and Bolshevism. Lloyd George and a coalition cabinet were swept into power by a tremendous majority. Philip Snowden, Ramsay Macdonald, and Arthur Henderson, the three great leaders of the Labor groups, failed to obtain seats in the House of Commons.

the dismissal of strikers during the war. South Wales ship repairing yards were deserted. The bakers were threatening a national strike. The railwaymen of the same section flouted the authority of their leaders and went out. By the end of the month over 200,000 men were out on strike in various industries. The government was helpless. Most of these strikes were



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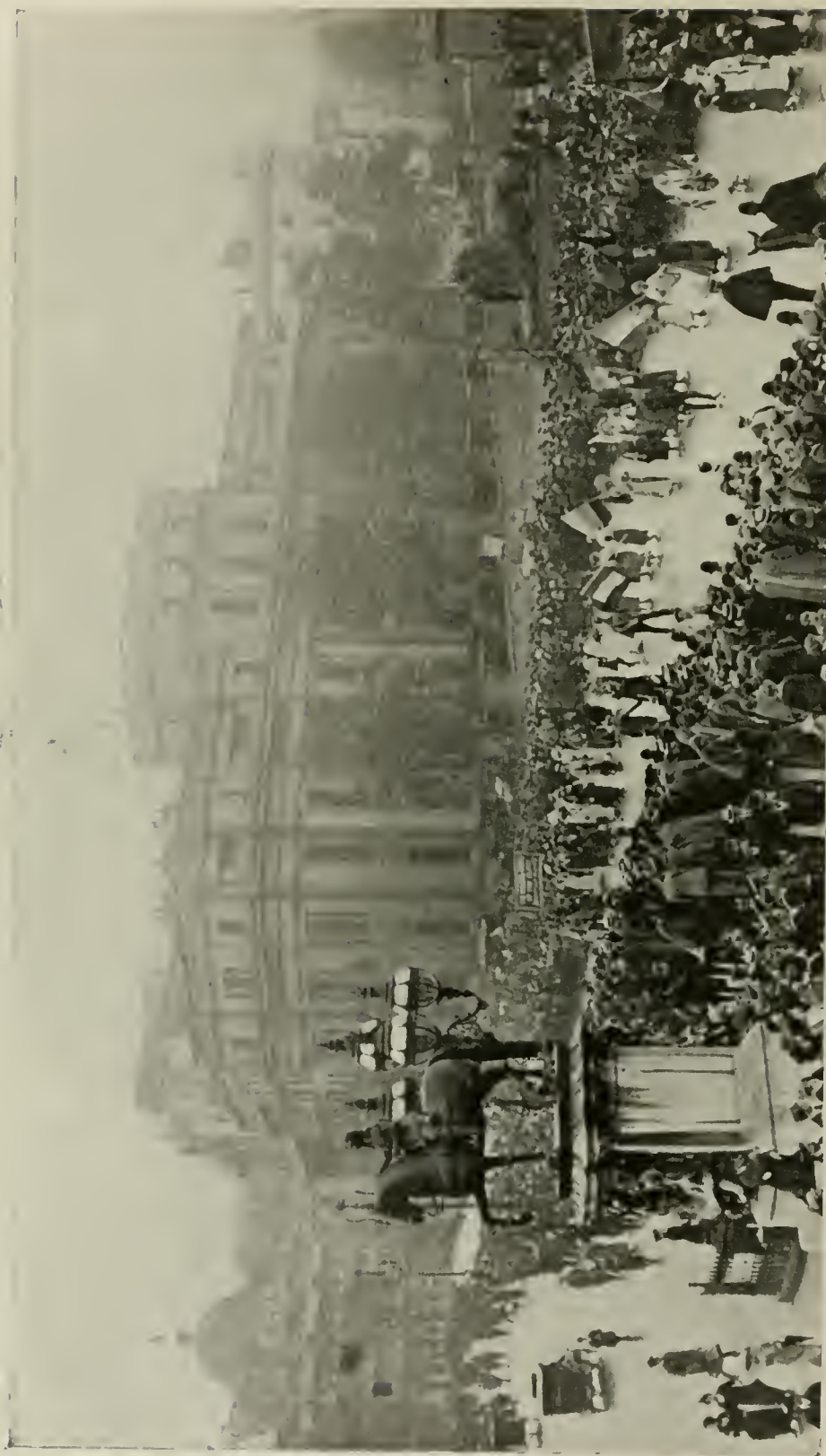
Indian Soldiers in an English Hospital

They are enjoying an Eastern bazaar. Interested Gurkas are listening to an Indian song.

THE CRATER SPITS FIRE

It was the new cabinet's business to make peace at Paris and to make peace at home. The international peacemaking proceeded with greater ease than the settling of industrial trouble at home. Soon after the elections had clearly shown that the British public as a whole rejected Bolshevism, the country was threatened with the most gigantic industrial strikes in years. In January, 1919, twenty thousand miners and twenty pits in North Nottinghamshire were idle. Fourteen thousand Rhondda men quit work because of

for shorter hours, and were undertaken by the men in defiance of their official leaders. With these leaders disregarded, the government did not know with whom to deal. A new Syndicalist tendency began to manifest itself in all this unrest. The workers paraded in the streets, threatened municipal authorities, talked of the "democratic control of industry" and renounced politics as a weapon for bettering their condition. Their new slogan was "direct action!" They were going to remodel trades-unionism on that basis. They were sick, they said, of their conservative leaders. The government was preoccu-



Courtesy of Leslie's Weekly.

Women's Parade Passing Trafalgar Square in the Rain

The weather could not have been worse, but 40,000 women marched four miles through the streets of London in the spring of 1915 to demonstrate their eagerness to participate in the defense of their country, not by sharing in military glories but by hard toil in factories.

pied with the peace conference. The industry of the country was in chaos. Many people were alarmed. "There must be a fight between revolution and reconstruction," said Food Controller George H. Roberts. "If young bloods are allowed to smash the trades-union organizations, we will have to face a long period of industrial chaos, and a long process of disillusionment." Despite the bland assurances of the Minister of Labor that the strikes were being fostered by a few extrem-

windows and the stolid soldiers. On the Clyde fully 100,000 men were idle. Truly, the district looked as if it were on the verge of a revolution.

THE PROBLEMS OF PARLIAMENT

No British Parliament in a century, except the Parliament of Premier Asquith which had had on its shoulders the responsibility of deciding whether Great Britain would enter



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Cutting and Packing Lettuces in an English Intensive Garden

ists and would soon subside, they increased in violence and extent. The whole Clyde side was still; all the shipping and engineering men had thrown down their tools to obtain a forty-hour week. On the last day of January a riot took place at Glasgow because the government refused to interfere in the strike on behalf of the workers. The rioters threw bricks and bottles and a number of persons were injured. Immediately the government sent thousands of troops to the city to keep order. Sentries with fixed bayonets were posted at strategic points. The local leader of the strike was arrested and held without bail. Great crowds marched up and down the streets, gazing open-eyed at the broken

the war, was ever faced with more gigantic problems than Lloyd George's House of Commons which convened in February, 1919. The unrest and upheavals in the industrial world constituted one of the most serious of these problems. On the very day before the session opened the London tubes were tied up and traffic stopped. The electricians threatened that unless the government intervened at once in the labor disputes they would shut off the power and throw London in darkness. London was the nerve-center of the country. Such a threat, if carried out, would plunge the metropolis in darkness, stop all electrically driven and lighted workshops, and prevent the running of any electrically

driven vehicles. The situation was very critical, and the government met it by a drastic measure. Under the power granted to it by the Defense of the Realm Act it issued an order making the threatened strike a punishable offense. To relieve the people who, because of the tie-up of tubes and railways, were forced to tramp to and from work in the winter snows, the government sent military motor lorries to convey them free of charge. This bold action seemed for a while to have settled the problem, and it was confidently announced in the press that a general strike had been averted and the railway tangle unraveled and settled amicably. But despite this announcement the trains did not run, and as the public trudged through the bitter cold and snow they wished for some strong man to suppress the indiscipline and rebellion in the ranks of labor.

THE CONCILIATING PREMIER

No such man, apparently, was to be found in Parliament or in the cabinet. The only personality in whom labor was supposed to have any confidence and who had both the power and the willingness to mediate between labor and capital in their fierce war was Lloyd George, and he was away in Paris settling the terms of peace with Clemenceau and Wilson. Matters grew so serious that Lloyd George was summoned to leave his important task in France and come back for a short while to patch up the industrial quarrel at home. Lloyd George came back. He thought that all that was necessary was a few speeches and that then all would be well and he could rush back to Paris. His first efforts were indeed successful. The subways of London began running again. The hotel waiters' strike was peaceably settled. But everybody felt that this was but a lull in the storm. The temper of British labor was sullen. They wanted fundamental and sweeping reforms. The miners, the railwaymen, and the electricians, three of the most gigantic and most vital trades, were crouching for a decisive spring. Lloyd George called a conference, and to them threw down the gauntlet. He would "fight Prussianism in the industrial world as we fought it on the continent of Europe—with the whole might of the na-

tion!" The government offered the miners an immediate advance of a shilling per day. The miners refused. They wanted, they said, a democratic control of industry. All signs pointed to the real revolution that was going on, in England's usual bloodless way, in the industrial world. Lloyd George found he could not return to Paris as soon as he had expected. The labor situation at home was for a time more vital than the Peace Conference. It was clear that the problem was not one of satisfying mere demands for this or that increase in wages or this or that decrease in hours. What the British laborer wanted was a complete betterment of his whole life. Lloyd George could see this clearly in the debates in the House of Commons. R. Clynes, one Labor member, said: "It is impossible to educate men and then enslave them." J. H. Thomas, another Labor member, said: "The working classes to-day ought at least to have a share and voice in the affairs that concern their daily life."

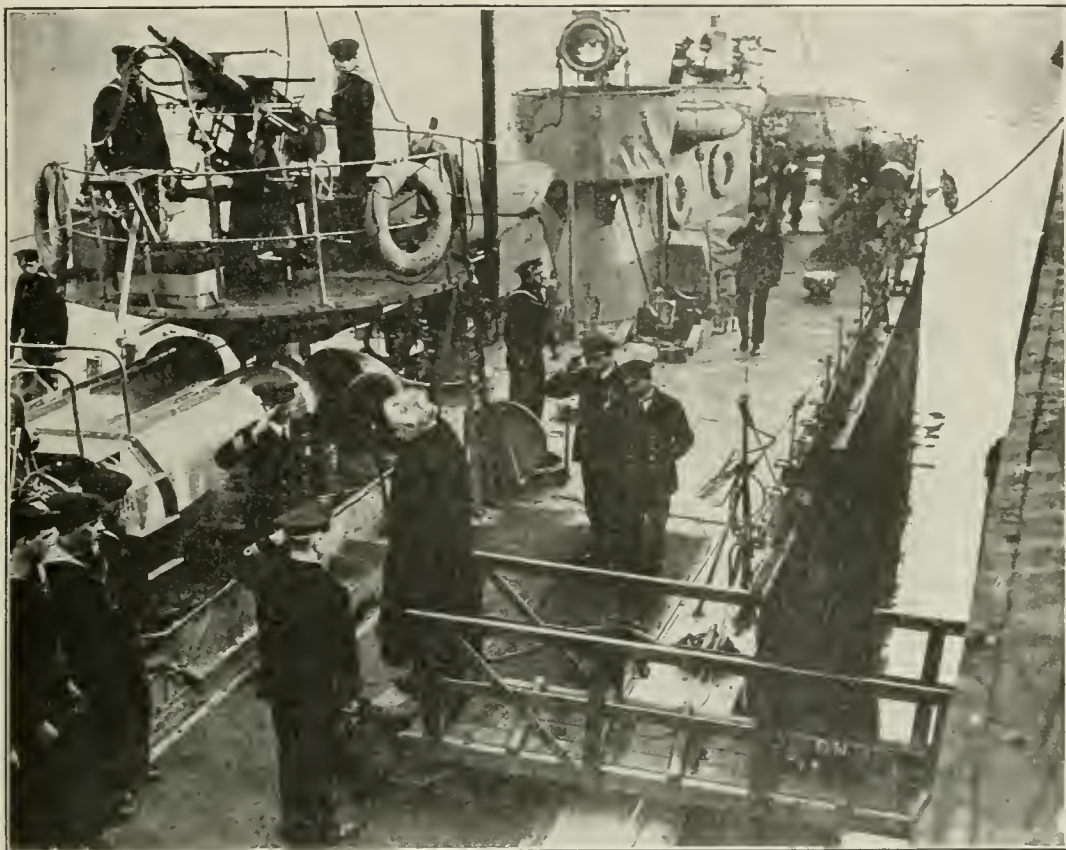
The Premier, in the face of this situation, resorted to a novel plan in the history of Great Britain. He called a national Labor Peace Conference of all industries, to meet on February 27, 1919, and settle by amicable discussion the outstanding critical points. But even before this conference could meet, the miners, backed by their allies, the transport workers and railwaymen, were insistent in their radical demands. The vigorous and pugnacious Premier immediately struck at the danger by appealing to Parliament to avert the civil strife which the policy of the miners was inviting. He asked the appointment of a commission of inquiry which should investigate the whole mining problem from wages to nationalization. The request was granted.

LABOR AND CAPITAL GET TOGETHER

On February 27th the great industrial parliament proposed by the Premier met in Westminster. It was a solemn and unusual gathering, many speeches were made, and conciliatory feelings expressed; but its net result was a personal triumph for Lloyd George. To the three hundred employers and the five hundred labor delegates, representing over 10,000,000 workingmen, he made a stirring appeal for generosity and patriotism in set-

ting the acute problems of the reconstruction period. The net upshot of the gathering was the appointment of a committee of 30 Laborites and 30 employers to investigate all the sharp points of dispute.

the rest of the great industrial "triple alliance." And this nationalization of the mines, they said, must not be mere government ownership. It must be syndicalist in nature. The mines must be controlled jointly by the gov-



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Premier Lloyd George Returns to London

The British Prime Minister boarding H. M. S. *Termagant* at the termination of the peace conference at Boulogne on his way back to London where a tremendous welcome awaited him.

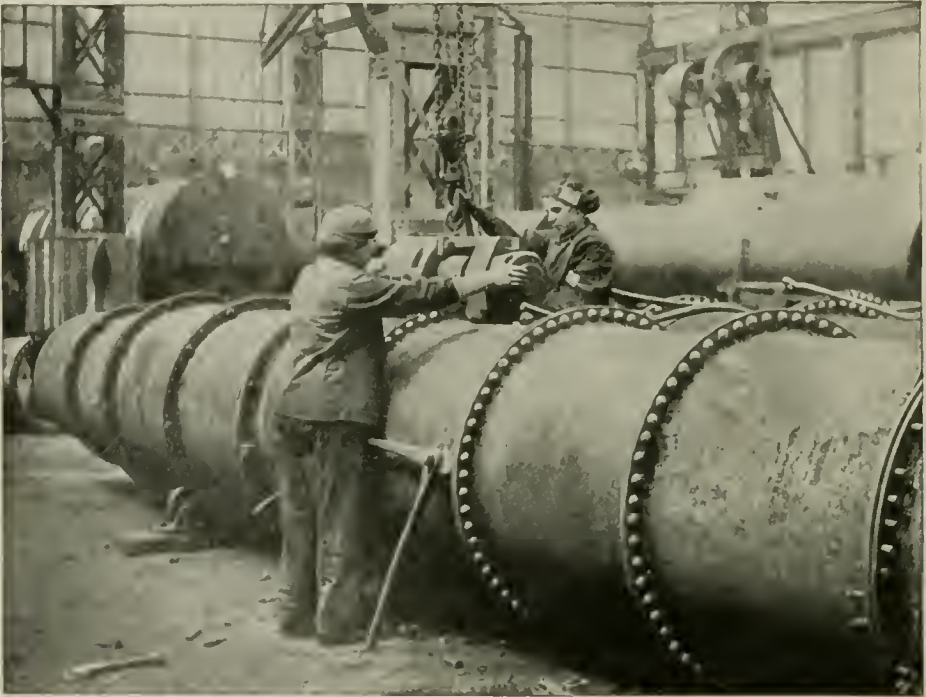
LABOR DEFIANT

Soon it became apparent that this dramatic conference of labor and capital was by no means indicative of the true state of affairs. The revelations of the committee appointed to investigate mining conditions only confirmed in the minds of the miners the suspicion of profiteering by the owners, the distributors and the government. They threw a challenge into the government's face: unless the mines were made national property, they would strike and would be supported by

ernment and the miners themselves. By this time Lloyd George, who had felt so satisfied with the February conference that he had hastened back to the important task at Paris, again heard the industrial agony of England crying to him across the Channel. Again he made ready to return to London and patch up some sort of compromise that would last until the Germans had signed the peace, and the world could safely turn to the solution of industrial problems. But Clemenceau, Wilson, and Orlando pleaded with him not to leave them at the crucial period of settling

peace terms. There was a frank race between Bolshevism and the Peace Conference, and the latter had to finish its work as rapidly as possible. The British Premier was in a dilemma. The political heavens were clouded both in Paris and in London; whither should he first turn? At last the three other statesmen prevailed upon him to stick to his post in Paris. But how could he handle the threatening problems at home? They were

as's journey was both sensational and indicative of the new age in which we are living. He flew from London to Paris in an airplane. Whether as a result of this visit of Thomas to Lloyd George or not, the fact remains that the great "triple alliance" of miners, railwaymen, and transport workers, without surrendering a single one of their demands, decided to delay a widespread strike until the Peace Conference had finished its titanic task.



Women Doing Hydraulic Riveting in Scottish Iron Works

Heavy work for women, but not too heavy for the strong and willing feminine hands that were offered to Great Britain during the stress of war.

bringing England to the verge of an abyss. The famous writer, Frederic Harrison, thus painted conditions: "If our capitalists, if our workmen, if our government, now make a wrong decision, it is irreparable. It may be a blow to Britain for generations. . . . A single false step by capital, labor, or Parliament may be the ruin of our country and may bring speedy starvation and anarchy to our generation." Whether conditions were as perilous as that or not, they were dangerous enough. Since Lloyd George could not go to London himself, he had J. H. Thomas, the labor leader, come to him in Paris. Thom-

THE PEACE TREATY

This task was completed in June, 1919. When the treaty and covenant were published, Great Britain reacted, not in the unanimous spirit with which it fought the enemy, but in a patently divided fashion. The conservative and coalition papers, the Northcliffe press, and the staunch supporters of Lloyd George's government, applauded the work of the Paris conference. Whatever criticism this part of the British people had to make was purely on the score of insufficiency. Unable to forget the brutal crimes

which Germany had committed in Belgium, in France, and on the seas, these people could think of no punishment strong enough. On the other hand almost the entire Liberal press criticized the treaty violently. The *Manchester Guardian*, the *Westminster Gazette*, the *Daily News*, *The Observer*, *Common Sense*, the *London Nation*, the *New Statesman*, the *Daily Telegraph*, and other periodicals and newspapers which had staunchly supported the war, now came out in denunciation of the peace.

THE PROBLEMS OF LLOYD GEORGE

As Lloyd George laid down the rôle of the peacemaker and turned once more to those questions which more specifically concerned Britain, tremendous problems awaited solution. If Lloyd George could not solve them he would fall headlong from the dizzy heights of power to which his shrewd and aggressive personality had lifted him. Chief among those

problems was that of Ireland, which will be treated in another chapter. But equally important were the industrial problems raised by the new consciousness of labor and its infection in certain quarters by the inflammatory and dangerous doctrines which were seeping in from Petrograd and Moscow. British labor was showing a marked tendency toward "direct action," and despite predictions that the next cabinet would be a labor cabinet, the workers were showing a preference for the strike as a weapon for attaining their chief aims, which are the nationalization of the great industries and the "democratic" control of them. The entire industrial problem of England was, of course, tied up with the great industrial problem of the world, and with the war against the disorganizing forces of Bolshevism which had raised their heads in all countries. As such it remained at the time of writing, an unsolved problem upon which hung the fate of civilization, calling for the highest statesmanship in its solution.

BRITAIN IN NORTH AMERICA

Canada Nobly Plays Its Part in the War, in Spite of Threatened Domestic Strife

THE CANADIAN COMPLEX

THE story of Canada during the war years is peculiarly interesting because it is virtually an epitome of the war story of the British Empire. No part of the Empire showed purer patriotism or more unselfish zeal than Canada, yet no part of the Empire had to face such a complex of problems. Other Dominions had their single problem—Canada had them all. Did South Africa have its Boer "Nationalists," Canada could match them with her "Nationalist" French. Did Australia have its anti-militarist laborites, Canada's cities could show the same. Did the other Dominions contain domiciled alien enemies, Canada had many more. That Canada, despite all these handicaps, was able to take so noteworthy a part in the world-conflict speaks volumes for Canadian pa-

triotism, moral zeal, and Imperial solidarity.

In fact, for some years previous to the war, Canadian politics had been dominated by the issue of Canada's Imperial relations. All over the British world this issue was being debated, the basic point being whether the extremely loose political texture hitherto characteristic of the British Empire should be maintained, or whether its component parts, particularly the self-governing Dominions, should knit themselves in a closer association with the Motherland in a truly "Imperial Federation." In Canada the two great political parties were divided on this issue, the Imperialist viewpoint being championed by the Conservatives, while the Liberals maintained the traditionalist attitude. The parliamentary campaign of 1911 was fought primarily on Imperialist issues and resulted in the defeat of the Liberals, who had been in

power since 1896, and the formation of a Conservative government under the premiership of the Conservative leader, Sir Robert Borden, a native of Nova Scotia, who had been the party leader since 1901. The veteran Liberal leader, the French-Canadian, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, of Quebec, who had been Canada's Premier since 1896, continued to be the Liberal standard-bearer, becoming the leader of the parliamentary Opposition. Thus, when the European War broke out in 1914, Canada was governed by the Conservative

has aroused to the full the patriotism and loyalty which have always actuated the Canadian people. From every province and indeed from every community the response to the call of duty has been all that could be desired. The spirit which thus animates Canada inspires also His Majesty's Dominions throughout the world; and we may be assured that united action to repel the common danger will not fail to strengthen the ties that bind together those vast Dominions in the possession and enjoyment of the blessings



The 90th Winnipeg Rifles

Borden cabinet, of predominantly Imperialist proclivities.

CANADA AND THE WAR

The circumstances attending Great Britain's entrance into the European conflict evoked general enthusiasm for the war in Canada as in the other portions of the Empire. Conservatives and Liberals vied with one another in pronouncements of loyalty and pledges of support to the Motherland. Parliament was convened in special session on August 18th, and in the speech from the throne the Governor General, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, expressed his warm appreciation by saying: "The critical period into which we have just entered

of British liberty. As representative of His Majesty the King, I must add my expression of thanks and admiration for the splendid spirit of patriotism and generosity that has been displayed throughout the length and breadth of the Dominion." The reply of Premier Borden naturally voiced the Imperial concepts of his party. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's address was noteworthy as placing the Liberal Party solidly behind the government's war attitude. He said: "It is our duty, more pressing upon us than all other duties, at once, on this first day of this extraordinary session of the Canadian Parliament, to let Great Britain know, and to let the friends and foes of Great Britain know, that there is in Canada but one mind and one heart, and that all Canadians stand behind

the Mother Country, conscious and proud that she has engaged in this war, not from any selfish motive, for any purpose of aggrandizement, but to maintain untarnished the honor of her name, to fulfil her obligations to her allies, to maintain her treaty obligations, and to save civilization from the unbridled lust of conquest and power." And with special reference to his French-Canadian fellow-citizens, he went on: "If my words can be heard beyond the walls of this House, in the province from which I come, among the men whose blood flows in my own veins, I should like them to remember that in taking their place to-day in the ranks of the Canadian Army, to fight for the cause of the Allied nations, a double honor rests upon them. The very cause for which they are called upon to fight is to them doubly sacred."

THE FIRST ENTHUSIASM

During those summer weeks, indeed, Canada was aflame with enthusiasm from end to end. Volunteers poured in faster than could be handled, and 30,000 men were soon in training at the great camp of Valcartier, Quebec. The provinces vied with the central government in providing the sinews of war. Ontario gave \$500,000 to the Imperial government, and Nova Scotia donated 100,000 tons of coal for the British Navy. Manitoba sent 1,000,000 bags of flour, Prince Edward Island 100,000 bushels of oats, Saskatchewan 1,500 horses. By the end of September the first Canadian troops were on the seas, and before the year was out some of them had reached the European battle front.

PARTY ATTITUDES

Meanwhile the Canadian people were settling down to the fact of the war and the political parties were adopting the courses which were to foreshadow their later action. Despite unanimity on many points, Conservatives and Liberals never even from the first saw things quite eye to eye. They could not thus see, given their dissimilar ideals of empire. The divergences came out clearly in the utterances of political leaders during the first months of the war, typified by the speeches of the rival standard-bearers, Premier Borden and Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Sir Rob-

ert Borden laid great stress upon the certainty and necessity of Imperial Federation as a result of the war. He emphasized the idea of Canada no longer being a protected colony, but a "participating nation," and he drew from this the conclusion that after the



Sir Robert Borden

War Premier of the Dominion Government of Canada.

war it would be impossible to perpetuate the hitherto anomalous status of Canada and the other self-governing Dominions. Henceforth foreign policy and all other distinctly Imperial matters ought to be controlled, not by England alone, but jointly by the Motherland and the Dominions. The only way to effect this was by the formal federation of the Empire.

Such was the Conservative thesis. It did not, however, appeal to the Liberals, and Sir Wilfrid was not slow in voicing his dissent. The Canadians, contended Sir Wilfrid, were a free people, and this freedom was "at once the glory and honor of England, which has granted it, and of Canada, which uses it to assist England." Being thus free, however, Canada was not Imperially obligated. In the



© Brown Bros.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier

World War, for instance, Canada would have fulfilled all her legal obligations by limiting her action to purely defensive measures. The despatch of troops was purely optional. Such was the then legal state of affairs, and this state of affairs the Liberals had no desire to see altered. The fact that Canada had, as a matter of fact, actively coöperated with the Motherland in this particular war, must not be a precedent for subsequent wars in which England might be involved. But the only way to avoid such commitments was to avoid anything like Imperial Federation, to which the Liberals remained opposed.

CONTINUED SUCCESS

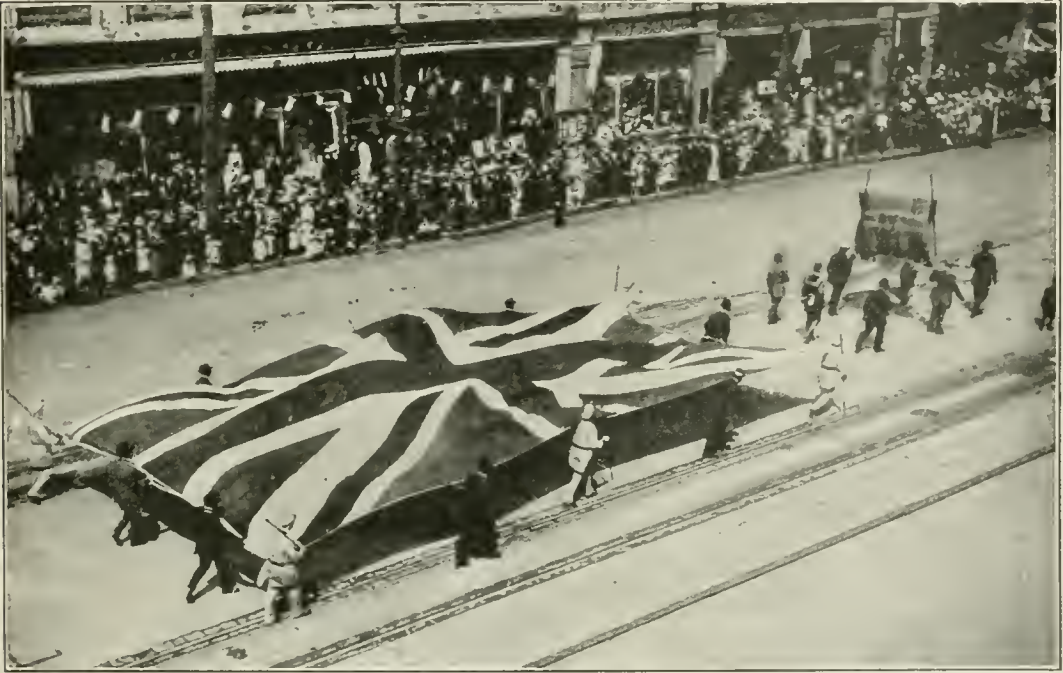
This may seem at first sight mostly politicians' straightening out of party fences. As a matter of fact, it was much more than this, and portended those sharp party disputes which were to divide Canadian public opinion during the later years of the war. Furthermore, besides this incipient issue between the two great political groups, there was the lack of war enthusiasm among the French-Canadian Nationalists of Quebec and the anti-militarism of radical labor in the Dominion's industrial centers, both of which were destined to cause serious trouble. But, down to the close of 1915, these complications remained in the background. Outside the French-Canadian province of Quebec, where the evanescent war-feeling had already died away, the tide of patriotic determination still ran strong. By the end of the year over 200,000 men had been raised for overseas service entirely by voluntary enlistment. This was a very creditable showing for a country of less than 8,000,000 inhabitants, hitherto immune from foreign menace and consequently possessing no armed establishment beyond a small militia. Canada was, in fact, less spiritually prepared than any of the other British Dominions, since she possessed neither the universal military training idea of Australasia nor the martial traditions of South Africa. Now, however, the English-speaking majority was plunging boldly into the new course, their temper only hardened by the heavy casualty-lists that were beginning to come in from the European battle front. The Dominion's desire to do its full share was shown in other ways than recruiting. A general campaign of education to increase the amount of land under cultivation resulted in a cultivated acreage for 1915 no less than 25 per cent. greater than that of 1914—a truly wonderful achievement, given the abnormal conditions and the shortage of agricultural labor. Canada's swelling food-exports were destined to bear the Motherland no less precious aid than Canadian divisions in "carrying on."

RISING CLOUDS

The year 1916, however, was destined to witness the beginning of a less harmonious

period in the Dominion's public life. At the very beginning of the year Premier Borden issued a ringing message announcing Canada's determination to fight the war to a finish, no matter what the cost, and stating as a means to this end the increase of the Canadian Foreign Service Army to 500,000 men. This was a very ambitious program, necessitating as it did the raising of nearly 300,000 fresh troops. To well-informed persons it was exceedingly doubtful whether these troops could

province of Ontario. To those readers unacquainted with Canadian conditions it may seem incredible that such an issue could seriously complicate Canada's war policies. Nevertheless, such was the fact, because it roused anew the evil spirit which always lurks in the background of Canadian public life—the antagonism between French and English Canada. Of the Dominion's 8,000,000 inhabitants considerably more than 2,000,000 are French, concentrated in the province of Que-



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A Fourteen Man Union Jack

This British flag was a great feature of the procession held at Winnipeg on Dominion Day.

be gotten by voluntary enlistment, the stream of recruits already showing the first signs of drying up. The logical answer was, of course, conscription, but this meant trouble, especially in French Canada. Quebec in fact received Premier Borden's message with very perfunctory applause, and the cause of conscription was hurt by an unfortunate recrudescence of race-feeling which arose just at this time.

THE BILINGUAL SCHOOLS QUESTION

The issue which thus roused race antagonism was the bilingual schools dispute in the

bec but spreading into all the other eastern provinces as minorities of varying size. In Quebec itself the French possess special constitutional rights which assure them practically absolute control, and their aim has always been to obtain similar rights for the French minorities of the other provinces. Conversely, the privileged position of the French in Quebec has always roused the resentment of the English-speaking majority in other parts of Canada, who do all in their power to keep French ascendancy confined to Quebec and prevent its spread into other provinces. The battle-cry of both parties is of

course language, the French striving to make their speech the equal of English throughout Canada, the English trying to keep Canada a predominantly English-speaking country and to confine French as far as possible to Quebec. The race question is further com-

cially in the parts adjacent to Quebec. The school system of Ontario is not unsectarian as in the United States but permits state aid to religious schools. The Roman Catholic schools of Ontario were using French equally with English as a medium of instruction. The



Major-General Sir Arthur Currie, Commander of Canadian Forces in France

He sent the following appeal to Canada from the front: "From the agony of the battlefield goes forth our prayer that the homeland will not desert us in the hour of our need and of our approaching triumph."

plicated by religion, nearly all the French-Canadians being devout Roman Catholics, while most of the English-speaking Canadians are staunch Protestants. Both race and religious feeling is particularly strong in the province of Ontario. Ontario is predominantly Anglo-Saxon and Protestant, but also contains a considerable French element, espe-

cially in the parts adjacent to Quebec. The English-speaking majority declared this a method of French colonization and determined to stop it. Accordingly, in 1913, the Education Department of the Ontario government had restricted the use of French as a medium of instruction in the bilingual schools to the primary grade and prescribed that in all higher grades English alone should be so employed,



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The First Canadian Battalion

Recruited largely in Western Canada it suffered terrible casualties in the fighting around Ypres, and few of the original force survived.

except for denominational religious teaching which was permitted in French throughout. This raised a storm of indignant protest throughout French Canada. Many schools refused to obey the order and closed down when threatened with coercion. Litigation was carried through the Ontario courts and was then taken to the Empire's supreme court—the Privy Council in London. In 1916 the Privy Council handed down a decision upholding the Ontario Education Department and dismissing the French element's appeal. This infuriated the French throughout Canada and drove multitudes over to the extreme "Nationalist" party, which had opposed the war from the start and had made no secret of its dislike of Canadian participation in an "English" cause.

THE "NATIONALIST" OPPOSITION

French-Canadian "Nationalism" had always been latent in Canadian politics, though it was only of recent years that it had come squarely out into the open as a definite political party. Previous to that time the Nationalistically-minded element had formed the extreme wing of the Liberals. Most French-Canadians were, in fact, Liberals, and kept the party true to its dislike of anything like Imperial Federation. Even a generation ago, at the time of the Boer War, many French-Canadians had objected to the sending of a Dominion contingent to South Africa. But it was in the great controversy preceding the parliamentary elections of 1911 that the Nationalist party really began. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, though a French-Canadian, and though opposed to Imperial Federation in the formal sense, did not object to Canada's participation in Imperial responsibilities provided her liberty of discretion were left unimpaired. This attitude, however, angered the Quebec extremists, who now found a leader in the person of a brilliant young politician, Henri Bourassa. Bourassa's fiery speeches gained him a great following. In the 1911 election he stumped Quebec on a "Nationalist" platform in opposition to Laurier. His whirlwind tour was a success, for at the elections Quebec returned no less than 18 Nationalists out of its total of 65 parliamentary seats. This was a bad blow for Laurier, his previously

unchallenged hold over his native province being thenceforth at an end.

HENRI BOURASSA

From the beginning of the war the Nationalist group in Parliament had taken up an aloof and critical attitude, and their criticisms increased in boldness as the war went on. Henri Bourassa, through his famous newspaper, *Le Devoir* ("Duty"), was, of course, the party oracle and did not mince his words. Early in the war Bourassa announced the Nationalist viewpoint as follows: "Our attitude in the present war is exactly that which we took at the time of the South African War. We have always adhered to the principle that Canada, not being responsible for the foreign policy of the Empire, is not called upon to contribute to Britain's foreign wars. The government is now indebted to this country for fifty years to come for a war with the inception of which we had nothing to do, and in the settlement of which we shall have no voice. . . . Great Britain has entered the conflict of her own free will, in consequence of her entanglements in the international situation. She has framed her policy and decided her action with a sole view to her own interests, without consulting her colonies or considering in any respect their peculiar situation and local interests. The territory of Canada is not exposed to the attacks of any of the belligerent nations. An independent Canada would be to-day in absolute safety. The dangers to which her trade may be exposed result from the fact that she is a British possession, subject to the consequences of British policy and the risks of a military intervention decided by the Imperial government on its own exclusive authority and responsibility. It is therefore the duty of Great Britain to defend Canada, and not the duty of Canada to defend Great Britain."

These utterances of Bourassa were echoed by his colleagues, who openly deplored Canada's entry into the war and expressed frank regret that she was not an independent nation. The most serious result of Nationalist opposition to the war was its effect on recruiting among the French element, especially in the province of Quebec. At a time when the English part of Canada was contributing



© Douglas.

Canadian Guards on Bridge at Niagara Falls

International Bridge at Niagara Falls, known to hundreds of thousands of American tourists, was under military guard night and day during the war. The 19th Regiment, which formed a part of the second Canadian contingent for duty at the front, furnished the detail of this duty.

volunteers by the hundreds of thousands the French element, though comprising almost two-fifths of the Dominion's entire population, were furnishing only a few thousand soldiers. The Nationalist papers jeered at the government for its recruiting failure in Quebec. A typical utterance of this period is that of the French paper, *L'Événement* (Quebec City), which exclaimed editorially in June, 1916: "We must, perforce, submit to evidence. The recruiting campaign in the province of Quebec is an almost complete fiasco. It is now time to state that the number of recruiters far exceeds the number of recruits. The story is told of a lieutenant-colonel who, after a two months' campaign and extraordinary expenses, had only picked up a single volunteer. And since then this hero has taken to his heels. After twenty-two months of war, it would be stupid to try and justify this extraordinary fact by local considerations. It is better to admit this truth publicly—the larger majority of French-Canadians are hostile to

the idea of participation in the war. Why? For two principal reasons: first, by lack of military vocation; second, by antipathy to the cause of Great Britain."

Such being the temper of Nationalist circles from the beginning, it is easy to imagine how they were heartened and encouraged to a still more extreme attitude by the Imperial Privy Council's decision on the Ontario school question toward the close of the year and the resulting outburst of rage that swept all French Canada. On the other hand, the French-Canadian attitude was fast arousing the indignation of the English-speaking parts of the Dominion. The utter failure of recruiting among the French element became glaringly evident from the army lists. Of 380,000 men under the colors up to the close of 1916, only about 34,000 were French-Canadians. The bitterness of the English-speaking regions at sight of the French population calmly continuing its ordinary existence virtually untouched by war, while every

day brought long casualty lists from Europe aggregating nearly 70,000 casualties by the close of the year, can be imagined. Louder and louder rose the call from English Canada for conscription and the forcing of Quebec to "do its bit." Louder and louder rose the Nationalist defiance that any attempt to coerce Quebec would mean "big trouble." It was

foreign element in the newly-settled western provinces also displayed discontent, a not unnatural development when it is remembered that several hundred thousand were of German and Austrian blood. But it was from French Canada that the chief opposition came. In fact, the ominous truth soon became clear that virtually the whole French-Canadian



© Chesterfield and McLaren.

Canadian Women Making Shell Fuses

evident that the year 1917 was destined to be a stormy one in Canada.

THE CONSCRIPTION CRISIS

It was towards the end of May that Premier Borden, on his return from a trip to England, announced definitely that the government intended to ask Parliament to pass a conscription bill. This announcement, long expected though it had been, caused great excitement. All the anti-conscriptionist elements in the country voiced strong opposition. The radical labor unions, which from the beginning of the war had been pacifist, vigorously condemned the proposal. The large

race, irrespective of party affiliations, was opposed to conscription. Even the minority of French Conservatives mostly kicked over the party traces and made for the anti-conscriptionist camp. On the other hand, most of the English-speaking Liberals, feeling the call of the blood, abandoned their party and supported Premier Borden. In fact, the whole Liberal Party machine showed signs of impending disruption.

This tendency of the Canadian people to split into two extremist camps marked out by sharp lines of race and religion was so ominous a portent that Premier Borden hesitated to use his Conservative parliamentary majority to force through a conscription measure except

as a last resort. Accordingly, he invited Sir Wilfrid Laurier to form a Coalition Cabinet to pass the bill in common and thus prevent it from being a partisan measure. Sir Wilfrid, however, refused the offer, saying that no conscription measure should be introduced into Parliament until it had been submitted to the voters as a referendum. This counter-

Canadian House of Commons, and in early August it became law.

The parliamentary debates and votings on the bill confirmed previous fears. Though introduced as a party measure, party lines were soon broken and the issue was fought out squarely in terms of race—Anglo-Saxons for conscription, French-Canadians opposed. Bit-



Photo by J. H. Hare.

Inspection by the Duke of Connaught

The Duke of Connaught, Governor-General of Canada, an uncle of King George of England, was most active in military matters and was constantly inspecting the splendid troops that Canada contributed to the Empire.

proposal Premier Borden rejected, retorting that he had just given his word to Canada's sons at the front that they should be backed up from home, and that he meant to keep his word. Furthermore, the conscriptionists were greatly heartened by the action of the United States, which, having recently entered the war, had promptly adopted conscription. Accordingly, on June 11, 1917, the conscription bill was introduced into the

ter speeches were the order of the day, while outside Parliament the press took on a more and more acrimonious tone. When it became evident that conscription was going to become law, the Quebec Nationalists threw all moderation to the winds and began to talk openly of secession. As early as July *L'Idéal Catholique*, a prominent Montreal paper, urged Quebec's secession from the Dominion as the best means of dealing with those English who

wanted to make the French-Canadians "base slaves." "Free in our actions," it continued, "we could easily, under our own rule in Lower Canada, make the majority in Ontario listen to reason. We should have for

one hope. The normal life of the existing Parliament would normally have expired the previous year. At that time the Liberals had agreed to prolong it for a twelve-month, but that period was now nearly up, and when Premier Borden asked the Liberal opposition for a further extension his request was refused. A general election therefore became necessary, which was just what all the anti-conscriptionist elements—Liberals, Nationalists, Laborites and pro-German foreigners, alike—desired.

THE GENERAL ELECTIONS OF 1917

The anti-conscriptionists were jubilant. The government, they thought, could hardly venture to enforce the new conscription law on the very eve of an election, and in that election the anti-conscriptionists hoped to win success. On the other hand, the Conservatives, furious at being put in a hole, determined to retain power and put through conscription at whatever cost. Accordingly, they adopted a course of conduct which infuriated their opponents and lent double bitterness to the existing situation. This action was a special War Franchise Bill which arbitrarily altered the electorate in a pro-conscription sense. In the first place, all near women relatives of Canadian soldiers were enfranchised, it being estimated that nearly half a million women were thereby given the vote. Also, all members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force, including women nurses, Red Indians, and Hindus, were enfranchised. On the other hand, certain categories of persons previously voters were disfranchised. Thus, all conscientious objectors to military service and all natives of enemy countries who had lived in Canada less than fifteen years had their votes taken away. There could be no question that the effect of the bill was very materially to improve the Conservatives' chances of victory. It correspondingly infuriated the anti-conscriptionists, who denounced the War Franchise Bill as a monstrous piece of political gerrymandering and an unblushing "steal."

In particular, it seemed that the Roman Catholic clergy in Quebec was almost solidly behind the anti-conscriptionists; and the influence of the clergy in that province is, of



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Guarding an Unfortified Frontier

Canadian and American on the International Bridge at Niagara Falls.

this purpose some excellent means: the tariff, the customs duties, and the right of passage through our territory by our river and our railways, which we could, if need be, refuse to Upper Canada."

The anti-conscriptionists, however, still had

course, very great. The Cardinal Archbishop of Quebec in his official organ, the *Action Catholique*, remarked that "this conscription law is a menace which causes the Catholic clergy the worst possible apprehensions. . . . It is not only a serious blow to the rights of the Church of Christ, whose laws exempt the clergy from military service, but it also constitutes a fatal obstacle to the recruiting of ministers of God, and hence creates

precedented bitterness. The "Unionists," as the new conscriptionist coalition called themselves, attacked their opponents as "traitors," the anti-conscriptionists denounced the Unionists as tyrants, condemned the war, and hinted at secession and civil strife if the Unionists won. The Unionists did win, however, the elections on December 17th giving the Unionists 137 parliamentary seats as against 93 for the opposition. The vote was almost wholly by



Photo by J. H. Hare.

Sir Sam Hughes Salutes

The Minister of Militia of the Dominion reviewing troops at Montreal. Sir Sam was the leading spirit in Canada's wonderful war work. He was completely exonerated from charges of mismanagement and graft brought by political enemies during the war.

in our society an evil much worse than that which it is alleged to attempt to remedy."

Their ire was still further increased by Premier Borden's success in drawing the English-speaking conscriptionist Liberals clean out of their party and into a Coalition government which took office in October, just before the electoral campaign. Fortified by this great accession of strength and backed by his selective franchise law, Premier Borden threw down a fresh gauge of defiance to his opponents by putting the Conscription Act in force at once. Under all these circumstances the political campaign of 1917 was one of un-

race, Quebec going almost solid against conscription—62 out of 65 seats going to Liberal and Nationalist candidates.

FRENCH-CANADIAN DISAFFECTION

Conscription had won at the polls and Premier Borden was safely in the saddle, but the French-Canadians showed no signs of bowing to their defeat. Their intransigent bitterness continued to flame up as hotly as ever. Secessionist talk was no longer confined to the press. On the contrary, immediately after the elections a Nationalist

member of Parliament, J. N. Francœur, laid a secessionist motion before the House of Commons reading as follows: "That this House is of the opinion that the Province of Quebec would be disposed to accept the rupture of the Federation Pact of 1867, if, in the opinion of the other provinces, the said province is an obstacle to the union and the progress and development of Canada." Of course, this was a mere oratorical gesture which could have no possible legal effect. Nevertheless, it was symptomatic of the intense bitterness which gripped French Canada. The Quebec press teemed with violent comment. Henri Bourassa's *Devoir* naturally outdid itself. In his editorial comment on the election results, Mr. Bourassa wrote: "It was not union to win the war which led to the coalition of the Anglo-Saxon forces. That was only the pretext, the blind, the false flag covering the contraband goods. It was in reality a union of forces to subjugate Quebec. This object, conceived in hatred and lies, has run into its normal course. . . . In a word, the alleged 'union' has disunited the Canadian nation and has sown a new germ of disintegration in the already pretty well pitted soil of the British Empire. To the increasing unrest in India, to the Anglo-Dutch rivalry in Africa, to the misgivings caused by the enormous strides made by the Socialists in Australia, to the exasperating conditions of affairs in Ireland, our saviors of the Empire have found means to add inter-racial hatred in Canada." Even *Le Soleil*, a paper reputed to be Sir Wilfrid Laurier's organ in Quebec city, stated bitterly: "The French-Canadians have had enough of Canadian Confederation, which is nothing but Imperial Federation," and later wrote, "We are no longer disposed

to endure your impertinence, much less your persecutions."

Such was the temper of French Canada. Meanwhile, while talking of forceful resistance, Quebec was already trying to defeat conscription by passive resistance or underhand nullification. The Conscription Act required general registration and had appointed draft boards. But thousands of Quebec Frenchmen failed to register, while most of those who did register claimed exemption on various grounds. Thereupon the draft boards, usually made up of French-Canadians, showed pronounced sympathy with the claimants, some boards exempting their entire list. The result of all this was that, despite the draft law, Quebec was supplying almost no soldiers.

The Unionist government was, however, in no mood to tolerate such evasions, and in March, 1918, measures were taken to round up deserters and otherwise enforce the law. The result was considerable rioting, particularly at Quebec city, where furious mobs were quelled only by large bodies of troops and at cost of considerable bloodshed. Premier Borden announced that the law would be enforced at all costs, the round-up of draft evaders proceeded, and the riotous outbreaks at length subsided. Seeing that resistance was useless, the anti-conscriptionists determined to accept the inevitable. The more moderate French-Canadian leaders, who had all along deprecated armed violence, redoubled their appeals for obedience to the law, and Quebec, though never converted to the conscription idea, furnished a fair quota of draft soldiers during the latter months of the war. Owing to the sudden cessation of fighting in November, 1918, very few of these ever saw the front.

EARL ROBERTS' WORD OF CAUTION

Field Marshal Lord Roberts, who was Commander-in-Chief of the British Army before the war, was always distinguished for his common sense. He was a leader of public opinion as well. When the German excesses in Belgium aroused the indignation of his countrymen, he reminded them that not abuse of the enemy but armed force would defeat them. He published the following:

"May I give a word of caution to my countrymen against the unsportsmanlike practise of abusing one's enemies? Let us avoid what during the Boer War was described as 'killing with your mouth.' Let us rather devote all our energies to defeating our foes by the superior fighting of British soldiers in the open field.

"When we read the charges against the German troops, let us remember that gross charges absolutely untrue were brought against our own brave soldiers fighting in South Africa, but whether the charges are true or not, let us keep our own hands clean, and let us fight against the Germans in such a way as to earn their liking as well as their respect."

LABOR PROBLEMS IN THE PACIFIC

Despite the Glories of the Anzacs, Australian Socialists Demand Withdrawal from War

THE ANGLO-SAXON ANTIPODES

IT is difficult to visualize the vastness of Australasia, set far away in the immensity of the South Pacific Ocean. Some idea can be given by recalling that Australia is a continent rather than an island, with an area of nearly 3,000,000 square miles—the size of the United States, while New Zealand, though relatively much smaller, has an area of 103,000 square miles, being as large as the combined area of the three Middle Atlantic States, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Of course, the population of Australasia is far from being in proportion to its territorial size. Australia has barely 5,000,000 inhabitants, while the population

of New Zealand is only a trifle over 1,000,000. But though the population of Australasia is small in quantity, it is high in quality. Australia and New Zealand are racially pure Anglo-Saxon, and their laws are designed to prevent miscellaneous immigration. This is particularly true regarding colored immigrants. The presence of vast virgin areas capable of supporting a great population so near the teeming human hives of the Orient would have inevitably meant a huge Asiatic influx if no legal bar had been thrown between. But the early settlers took as their motto, "White Australasia," and from this stand they have never budged an inch. So the British communities of the South Pacific led their rather isolated lives, known to the



Town Hall, George Street, Sydney, Australia

outer world chiefly by radical experiments in social and labor legislation.

With such antecedents, Australasia's answer to the Motherland's call on the outbreak of the European War could not have been a moment in doubt. Australasia had already shown its loyalty to the Empire a generation before at the time of the Boer War, and the enthusiasm displayed in 1914 eclipsed even that of 1899. Besides their general loyalty to the Empire and their approval of the moral

army and a fleet of its own, and New Zealand had followed much the same policy. Thus Australasia was able singlehanded to snuff out all German resistance in the South Pacific. The war was not many days old before an Australian expeditionary force was sailing north to attack Germany's chief Pacific colony, German New Guinea, the north-east corner of the great island lying due north of Australia, in which the commonwealth already had interests through its possession



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Australian Volunteers on their Way to Embark for Egypt

grounds on which Britain had entered the European conflict, Australasians had their own special reasons for welcoming the armed test. At various points in the South Pacific Germany had established footholds, and these had long roused the suspicions of Australasian statesmen. Australasia had, in fact, been rapidly developing a national consciousness of its own, and this sentiment had been welcomed by British statesmen, who, true to the tradition of Imperial devolution, had gladly assigned the care of British interests in the Pacific to Australasian hands. A few years before the war Australia had begun creating an

of New Guinea's southeast corner—the territory known as Papua. At about the same time a New Zealand force sailed against German Samoa, and within a month Germany's Pacific "place in the sun" was a memory. Flushed with these first triumphs, Australasia settled down to the more serious business of raising and equipping its quotas for the main struggle in the Far West. The specific methods adopted and the popular temper toward the war as a whole differ as between Australia and New Zealand to an extent which renders separate treatment henceforth necessary.

AUSTRALIA AND THE WAR

Australia's first reaction to the European conflict was, as I have just said, one of almost unqualified enthusiasm. The popular demonstrations in its great cities surpassed in emotional intensity those of London itself. The only discordant note was that uttered by the extreme radical wing of Australian labor, which from the start took up an aloof and critical attitude. Later on this was to become a serious matter, but in 1914 radical protests were drowned in the patriotic chorus. At that moment the bulk of Australian labor was heart and soul for the war.

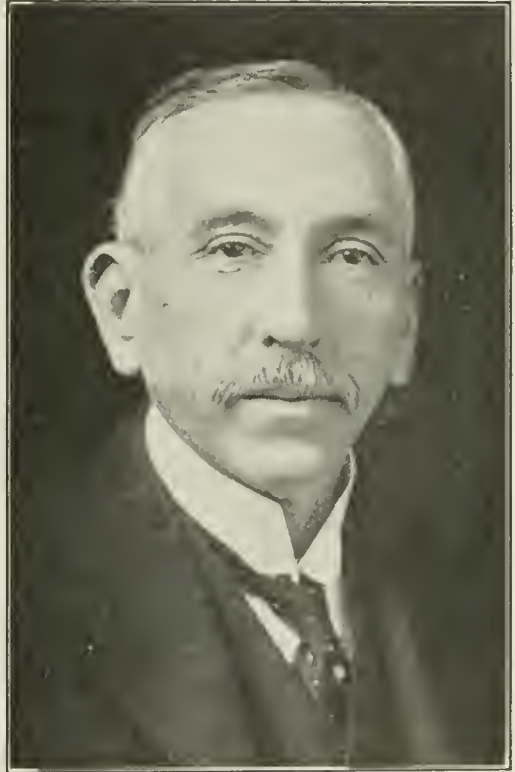
NEW POLITICAL ISSUES

This was a matter of great importance, because Australian labor had long been strongly class-conscious, was thoroughly unionized, had gone into politics as a Labor Party, and when the war broke out was actually in control, the leader of the Labor Party, Mr. W. M. Hughes, being Premier of the Australian Commonwealth. The other Australian political party, the Liberal Party, represented the upper and middle classes, the land-owning farmers, and other conservative social elements. The Liberals were pro-war and patriotic to a man, but their patriotism was no stronger than that voiced by Premier Hughes and his immediate followers. The war was, in fact, transforming Australian political life. Hitherto Australians had lived, much as Americans lived, isolated from the troubled drama of the Old World. Surrounded by vast stretches of ocean and sheltered by the might of British sea power, the Australian people had been content to lead its own life, immersed in its local politics and troubling itself little about distant happenings. Suddenly the Australians found themselves plunged into a struggle about which they knew next to nothing, sending the flower of their young manhood to die on far-off battlefields at the uttermost ends of the earth. The result was a virtual revolution in political thought. Local issues dropped out of sight, and men only lately bitter opponents on domestic matters joined hands on questions of world-politics, the position of Australia within the Empire, and the foreign policy of

the British Empire as a whole. This explains that obliteration of old party lines and formation of new political groupings which is the outstanding feature of Australian political life during the momentous war years.

HUGHES: AUSTRALIA'S STANDARD BEARER

From the first day of the war Premier Hughes made himself the spokesman of Australian patriotism and Imperial loyalty. Re-



© Brown Bros.

William Morris Hughes

Australian Premier who took a prominent part in the drawing-up of the Treaty of Peace with Germany.

jecting the lukewarm counsels of radical Labor colleagues, he summoned his fellow-citizens, regardless of party prejudices, to the supreme task of winning the war. He did yeoman service in expediting the large Australian expeditionary force which, together with the New Zealand contingent, gained undying fame in the tragedy of Gallipoli. When, toward the close of 1915, the sad tid-

ings of the utter failure of the stroke against Constantinople arrived, Mr. Hughes voiced Australian feeling when he said: "I feel I speak for the people of Australia when I say that the news of the evacuation with insignificant loss has been received in a spirit of devout gladness, chastened by keen regret that

British Empire. He was one of the British representatives at the famous Allied Economic Conference of Paris in June, and he returned to Australia in the late summer with a thoroughgoing program advocating prosecution of the war "to a finish," conscription, an Imperial customs' union with prohibition of Ger-



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Australian Transport Leaving Sydney

Thousands of friends crowded the piers to bid good-bye to these boys who fought in the ill-fated Dardanelles Campaign.

the withdrawal was found to be imperative. This is no time for carping criticism. Australia is in this war to the end, and that end must, and shall, be victory, final and complete. The evacuation of Gallipoli serves but as a spur to our resolute purpose."

Early in 1916 Premier Hughes paid a prolonged visit to England, where he brought himself to the attention of the entire world by his vigorous speeches both as regards the war and the necessity for permanently closer relations between the component parts of the

man goods, and a closer Imperial partnership between the Dominions and the Motherland.

THE STRUGGLE OVER CONSCRIPTION

When Mr. Hughes returned home, however, he found trouble awaiting him. I have already said that the radical wing of Australian labor had never been enthusiastic for the war. So long as they were not threatened with the necessity of making personal sacrifices the radicals generally contented them-



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An Appeal for Australian Recruits

Sergeant Cross, an Australian soldier wounded at the front, is encouraging enlistments in Martin Place, Sydney.

selves with veiled criticism, but as early as 1915 the government's vigorous recruiting campaigns had roused the ire of these socially-minded persons. Premier Hughes had not hesitated to express his opinion of such unpatriotic conduct. Even before his departure for Europe he had made a public address denouncing the radical wing of his own Labor Party as "anarchists" and threatening them with summary coercion should the need arise. This roused furious comment in some of the Labor newspapers, which greeted his speeches in England with abusive and defiant comment.

It was thus clear that the success of Mr. Hughes' vigorous program could be attained only by overcoming a vigorous opposition, and it was equally clear that the fight would center about the issue of conscription. During the first year of the war volunteering had been brisk, but the terrible losses suffered by the "Anzacs" at Gallipoli and elsewhere had

necessitated wholesale replacements, and by the beginning of 1916 the stream of recruits was shrinking in disquieting fashion. Premier Hughes had promised the Imperial government 300,000 Australian troops by June, but when that date arrived Australia was 50,000 men short, with volunteering slackening visibly every day. No sooner had Mr. Hughes reached Australia, therefore, than he took the bull by the horns and put the conscription issue squarely up to the people by submitting a referendum worded as follows: "Are you in favor of the government having, in this grave emergency, the same compulsory powers over citizens in regard to requiring their military service for the term of the war outside the Commonwealth as it now has in regard to military service within the Commonwealth?"

Certainly no one could complain that Mr. Hughes was dodging the issue. The battle was fairly joined.

OPPOSITION FROM LABOR

The political campaign which preceded the taking of the referendum vote was of the most violent character. The Liberals could be counted on as overwhelmingly for conscription, but as regards his own party Mr. Hughes soon lost whatever illusions he might once have possessed. The campaign had not been long in progress before it became clear that the bulk of Australian labor was against conscription for overseas service. 'The great labor organization, the Australian Workers' Union, declared against compulsory service, while local labor bodies went much further in their denunciation of the project, the Labor League of New South Wales formally expelling Mr. Hughes from its membership. The night before the voting, the late Captain Knyvett tells us, the anti-conscriptionists sent a photograph of a grave "Somewhere in France" to every mother who had a son fighting there. No doubt many mothers hesitated to vote—for, of course, the Australian women have the franchise—to force their remaining sons to go. The disaffection extended to the ranks of Mr. Hughes' own cabinet, several of his Labor colleagues sending in their resignations. When the referendum was finally taken on October 28, 1916, conscription was rejected by about 60,000 votes.

"THE COMMONWEALTH WAR GOVERNMENT"

The defeat of the conscription referendum was a bad blow, not merely to Premier Hughes but to all those desiring to see Australia play a major rôle in the war. The adverse vote had not been large, to be sure, but it had been indisputable and had shaken the government's prestige to its foundations. Premier Hughes' position was, indeed, a patently impossible one. He had been repudiated by a majority of his own party, only a small minority of the Labor Party, henceforth known as "Hughesites," remaining faithful to him. His main support came from the Liberals—the technical parliamentary opposition. Under these circumstances Mr. Hughes had only two practical courses open to him: either to resign or to form a Hughesite-Liberal coalition government. After some hesitation he took the latter course, impelled thereto

by anxiety over the general situation into which the country was drifting. The recent campaign had roused much bitterness and class-feeling, and its result had emboldened the Socialists to extend their attacks from conscription to the very question of the war itself. Radicalism spread through the ranks of Australian labor like wildfire and an epidemic of strikes broke out threatening the country with economic paralysis. Under these alarming circumstances Mr. Hughes invited a number of Liberal leaders into a reformed ministry, which took office in February, 1917, as "The Commonwealth War Government." On February 22nd Mr. Hughes made a declaration of the new government's policy before the Australian House of Representatives. Herein he announced that the new Cabinet had been formed specifically to prosecute the war, and that everything would be subordinated to this end. He expressed deep humiliation that, at a moment when the war was raging more furiously than ever and was approaching a terrific climax "in which all things were possible," the tumult of faction had drowned the voice of Australia calling her sons to defend her. Other nations, in this dread hour, were facing the conflict unitedly. Australia alone seemed unable to close her ranks in face of the common foe. The popular decision in the matter of conscription would be respected, but the government would do its best to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion.

A SECOND ATTEMPT TO SECURE CONSCRIPTION

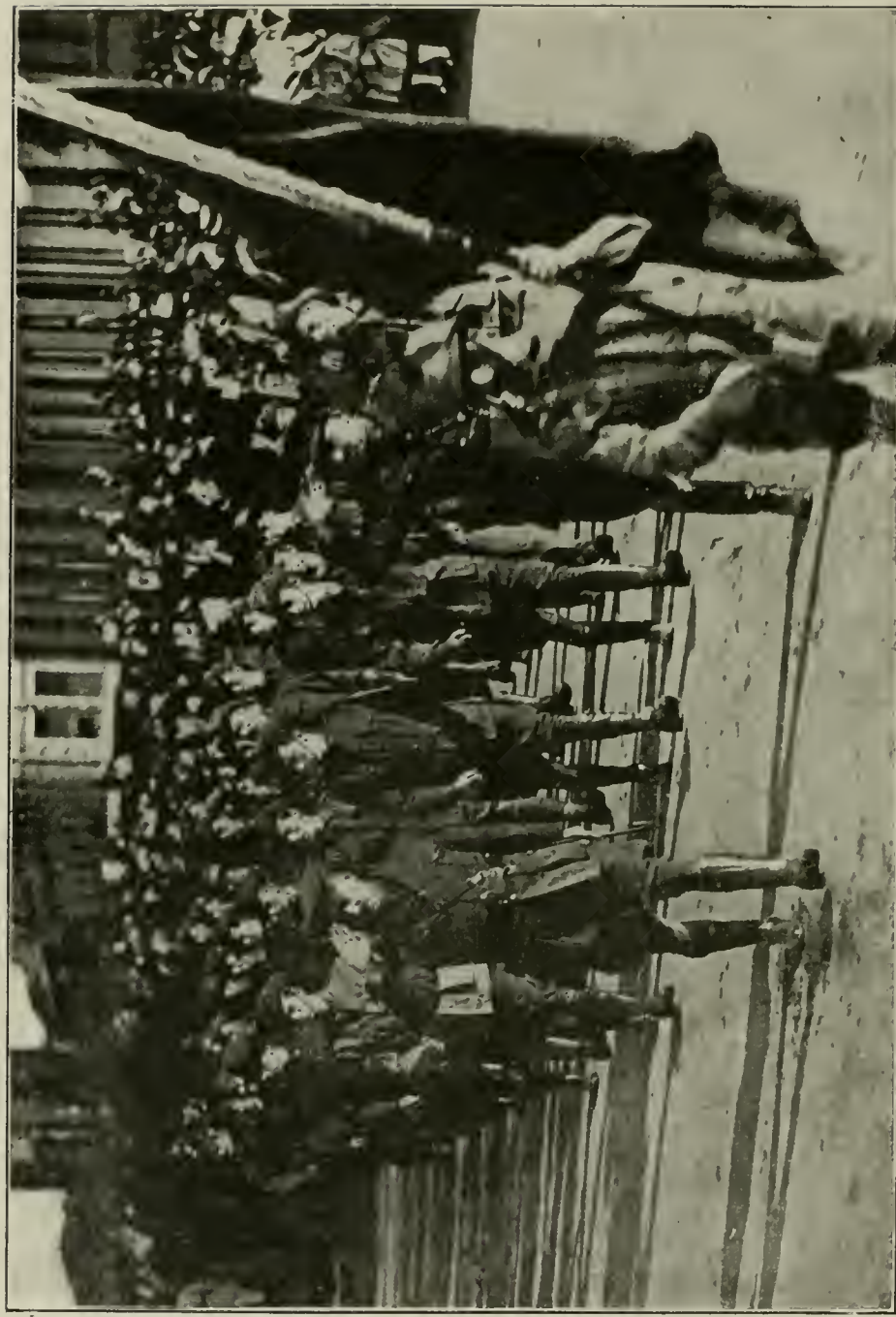
The new government was soon to undergo a test of strength in the parliamentary elections which came in May. Old party lines were, of course, quite disregarded, the fusionists calling themselves the "National Party," the radical opposition keeping the name of Laborites. The elections resulted in a moderate Nationalist victory, but though Premier Hughes' parliamentary position was thus regularized, he was faced in Parliament by a powerful and bitter opposition, while outside Parliament the omens indicated that Imperialistic enthusiasm was on the wane and that war-weariness and socialistic radicalism were continually gaining ground. Recruiting had almost ceased, the Australian divisions



Capital of the state of Victoria.

Alexandra Gardens, Melbourne, Australia

It has made a very close race with Sydney for the distinction of being the largest city in Australia, and had a population of nearly seven hundred thousand during the war.



Soldiers' Parade on Anzac Day

Held in Sydney in 1918 to commemorate Australia's fallen heroes.

© Western Newspaper Union.

on the battle fronts were melting away, and by the close of 1917 Premier Hughes felt obliged to take another referendum vote on conscription, much as he dreaded the issue. The result confirmed his fears. Conscription was much more badly beaten than on the former occasion, the anti-conscriptionist majority in this second instance being nearly 200,000 votes. In New South Wales, the Laborite stronghold, the majority against conscription was overwhelming—140,000. This severe defeat naturally encouraged the radical Laborites, who thereupon issued a manifesto frankly condemning the further prosecution of the war and demanding immediate peace. The manifesto was avowedly Socialistic in tone, declaring that the war was the result of the capitalistic organization of society. It demanded the immediate calling of a peace conference, negotiations to be based on the mutual evacuation of occupied territories. This was "defeatism" with a vengeance!

THE SPECTER OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION

The most ominous thing about this defeatist Laborite manifesto was that it was a direct echo of the similar peace propaganda of the Russian Bolsheviks. The second Russian revolution of November, 1917, which had delivered Russia into Bolshevik hands, had just taken place, and Australian radicals were thrilling to the tidings, as radicals were thrilling the world over. At first sight it may seem incredible that Australia, the pioneer in social reform and for years under Laborite political control, should be menaced by violent social revolution. Yet such, apparently, was the fact. The Laborites redoubled their opposition, obstructing the government's war measures in Parliament and outside of Parliament attempting to upset the country by an epidemic of strikes culminating in a "general strike" with an avowedly revolutionary purpose.

Premier Hughes and his followers, however, were not the men to shirk a fight. Thanks to their control of Parliament, the Nationalists were able to pass legislation, and a number of war-bills similar to our own Espionage Acts were jammed through Parliament despite the Laborite minority's furious resistance. Armed with this new legislation,

the government took drastic action. The "general strike" was summarily broken, adequate military and police precautions prevented riotous disorder, and the would-be revolutionists did not dare to try violent conclusions.

THE "ONE BIG UNION" MOVEMENT

Revolutionary radicalism was scotched. It was not killed. More or less driven under ground, it was still dangerous. Denied a political vent, it sought other fields of action, notably the field of organized labor. Thereupon began that bitter struggle between the conservative and revolutionary wings of Australian organized labor which is still raging and which specially interests us Americans, since it in many ways parallels the conflict to-day going on here between the conservative American "Federation of Labor" and the revolutionary "Industrial Workers of the World."

Australian labor, as I have already said, has long been thoroughly unionized, the head labor organization being the "Australian Workers' Union." Now this body, both in makeup and policy, corresponds closely to the American Federation of Labor. They are both "craft-unionist"—that is, organized by trades, and they are both controlled by the skilled workers. While the A. W. U. has shown itself somewhat more radical in its methods than the A. F. of L., neither body has ever desired a revolutionary overthrow of existing society, the aims of both bodies being summarizable in the American Federation's motto: "A fair day's work for a fair day's wage."

The Australian "One Big Union" movement is the direct antithesis of all this. This movement is a faithful copy of the American "I. W. W.," by which, indeed, it was avowedly inspired. The movement actually began in 1914, just before the outbreak of the war, but the almost complete popular absorption in war matters which then supervened temporarily obscured the issue until the bitterness engendered by the conscription campaigns once more brought it to the fore, coupled with the stimulus of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution. Australian "One Big Unionism" is, in fact, nothing but Bol-

shevism. Like the American I. W. W., it aims at supplanting the existing craft-unionist body by a reconstituted organization dominated by the unskilled workers, and using its power to effect a complete social revolution and a Bolshevik "dictatorship of the proletariat." In other words, the goal is a "Soviet Australia," the exact duplicate of Soviet Russia. The menace has been recognized by

Party had remained a small minority group with little parliamentary influence. In New Zealand, as in Australia, the conscription issue came up during 1916, but, unlike Australia, conscription was promptly put in force. The Socialists voiced bitter opposition and there were some annoying strikes, but public opinion was overwhelmingly patriotic and all attempts at opposition were soon quelled. No



New Zealand Troops Drilling in Egypt

Thus do two parts of the British Empire meet.

all conservative-minded persons, but "One Big Unionism" has been zealously preached throughout Australia and to-day has a strong following in labor circles, several important labor organizations having been captured by the revolutionary element. Conservative Laborites are agreed with Liberals in viewing the current drift with frank apprehension.

NEW ZEALAND AND THE WAR

The story of New Zealand during the war years is very different from that of Australia. In New Zealand the patriotic enthusiasm of the first days remained unshaken to the end. In fact, it is not too much to say that, in proportion to its size and population, New Zealand played a more noteworthy part in the prosecution of the war than any of the other British Dominions. This is, however, only what might have been expected from its pre-war history. In New Zealand labor had never been so radical and class-conscious as in Australia. It is true that the radical wing had gone into politics as an avowedly Socialist party. But the New Zealand Socialist

Bolshevik tendencies of serious proportions have been noted.

AUSTRALASIA AND THE GERMAN COLONIES

The reader will remember how, within a few weeks of the outbreak of war in 1914, Australian and New Zealand forces had conquered Germany's South Pacific Colonies. Thenceforth they were provisionally administered by the two Dominions, and when, at the close of hostilities, the Versailles Peace Conference convened, Australia and New Zealand joined in an energetic demand that their military occupations should be converted into permanent possession, New Guinea and its adjacent island groups going to Australia, with German Samoa falling to New Zealand. The idea that ultimate title to Germany's colonial empire should vest in the League of Nations and that they themselves should be merely "mandatories" over its South Pacific portions was not pleasing to Australians. Nevertheless, they finally assented to the arrangement, but it was plain that they were much disappointed.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN UNION

General Botha Stops Revolt of His Fellow Boers and Checkmates the Germans at the Cape

"WHITE MAN'S AFRICA"

IT is just twenty years since the Boer War terminated the independence of the Dutch Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State and brought all South Africa under the British flag. During this period British statesmanship has labored unceasingly to reconcile the Boers to the new situation, efface bitter memories, and weld South Africa into a contented, self-governing Dominion of the British Empire. The ultimate goal has not yet been attained. The gulf between the two white races, Boers and Britons, is not closed, and South Africa's recent history has been a stormy one. Nevertheless, the measure of success which has been attained speaks volumes for British statesmanship and constructive vision. Many Englishmen roundly condemned their government when, only four years after the close of the Boer War, full self-government was granted the former republics and assent given to the formation of a South African Dominion like Canada and Australia. The British government was well aware that the Dutch element, outnumbering as it did the British, would gain political control. But British statesmen reckoned that generous treatment would gain the loyalty of a large section among the Dutch, and that these Dutch loyalists, in alliance with the Anglo-Saxon element, would keep South Africa true to the Empire. This is precisely what has happened during the late war. It is not too much to say that, had less generous counsels prevailed at the close of the Boer War, the whole Dutch population would have remained unreconciled and that the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914 would have meant a general rebellion throughout South Africa which might have lost it for the Empire.

Thus was British statesmanship justified.

BRITISHER AND AFRIKANDER AT ODDS

Even before 1914 the omens portended trouble. Dominion government was formally set up as the "Union of South Africa" in 1910, but from the first the Union's political life was a stormy one. Political parties formed along racial lines, the "South African" or "Afrikaner" Party being composed overwhelmingly of Boers, while the other chief party, the "Unionists," was made up almost exclusively of English-speaking persons of British descent. Since the white population of South Africa is three-fifths Dutch and only two-fifths Anglo-Saxon, this mathematically assured Afrikaner control in Parliament. The British element was further weakened by a split in its own ranks. The white labor of the Transvaal gold fields, though mainly British in blood, put class-consciousness above nationality, so that, instead of supporting the Unionists, it formed a radical Labor party which has often acted with the Afrikanders and even with the "Nationalists" of whom I must now speak.

THE REVIVAL OF REPUBLICANISM

The Nationalist Party came into existence in 1912 as the result of a split within the Afrikaner Party. As already stated, British statesmanship had reconciled a large part of the South African Dutch, and the leaders of the Afrikaner Party belonged to this wing, notably the chief Afrikaner leader, Louis Botha. This former Boer general, when elected Prime Minister, assumed a loyal attitude toward the Empire and, while taking good care that the Dutch should maintain full equality with the British in every respect, worked for the merging of racial rivalry in a common South African national consciousness. Botha's attitude, however, did not



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Natives of Darkest Africa

These warriors are dressed for a dance. Their costumes consisted mainly of feathers, long goat hair and paint.

please another large part of the Dutch element which had not forgotten the Boer War, did not desire fusion with the British element in any way, and wanted to use Afrikaner political supremacy to favor the Dutch at the expense of the British and to pave the way for a Boer South Africa. These malcontents, whose strength lay among the farmers, the so-called "Backveldt Boers," presently found an able leader in the person of General Hertzog, a well-educated man who had played a prominent part in the Boer War and had never disguised his aversion to British rule. Hertzog bitterly attacked Botha, accusing him of subservience to England and betrayal of his own people, and when Hertzog could not shake Botha's hold over the Afrikaner Party organization he led his followers out of the Afrikaner camp and set up a party of his own—the Nationalist Party. The Nationalists did not at first proclaim any avowedly disloyal aims, their main contention being the "two streams," meaning that the two white races of South Africa should flow along side by side without mingling in any way. Despite this formal caution, however, the Nationalists did not conceal their regret for their lost republican liberties and their hopes of a future more to their liking should circumstances favor.

THE BOER REBELLION

Perhaps if the world had remained at peace Dutch discontent would have gradually subsided and the Nationalist movement would have faded away. But at this critical moment the European War broke out. The effect on South Africa was disastrous. Premier Botha, to be sure, joined with the Unionists in expressing loyalty to the Empire and pledging armed support. But the Nationalists denounced the war, called for strict neutrality, and proclaimed a theory of South African relations to the Empire which was pretty close to a declaration of independence. This theory was well defined by General Hertzog when he said, "We stand in no way under Great Britain or its Parliament or government. The only bond which binds us together is our common King, but under him we stand separately and independently of each other." In other words, according to Hertzog the British Empire was merely a set of self-contained politi-

cal units, bound together only through a personal union under the British Crown and owing no duties to each other as such. Of course, any such constitutional theory, if ac-



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Three South African Leaders

General Christian De Wet (seated at left) led a rebellion in the Orange Free State and the Western Transvaal, in October, 1914. Premier Botha (at right) decided to support England and took up arms against Germany. The man in the center is General De La Ray.

cepted, would reduce the British Empire to a vain shadow.

BOTHA PUTS DOWN THE REVOLT

The Nationalists' objections were soon to be put to the test. Premier Botha announced that an expedition would be sent against the neighboring colony of German Southwest Africa. The Nationalists bitterly objected and demanded that military action be confined to measures of self-defense. But Botha was firm and proclaimed a mobilization of the burgher

militia for an invasion of "Southwest." Then real trouble began. Furious at being ordered to fight in a war which they abhorred, the Backveldt farmers rose in sporadic rebellion. A high militia officer, Colonel Maritz, promptly led nearly 1,000 of his men over to the Germans. The main rebellion, as might have been expected, took place in the Orange Free State and Western Transvaal. The famous Boer War hero, General Christian de Wet, swept the Free State from end to end, and General Beyers in the Transvaal like-

down the British flag and proclaim a free South African Republic." Through October and November, 1914, the situation was frankly serious, but Premier Botha kept the bulk of his people loyal, or at least quiet, the British element of course did yeoman service, and by the close of the year the rebellion was stamped out. The attack on German Southwest Africa then began as planned and by July, 1915, the last Germans had surrendered. All armed menace to British ascendancy in South Africa had thus been removed.



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Looking over Cape Town toward Devil Peak

wise had considerable success. Within a few days the rebel "commandos" numbered more than 10,000 men. The temper of the rebels can be judged by the speeches of their standard-bearer. In one of his recruiting speeches De Wet denounced "the miserable, pestilential English" and called the impending attack on German Southwest Africa "a dastardly act of robbery." "Some of my people," he continued, "have advised me to wait a little longer until England received a bigger knock, but it is beneath me and my people to kick a dead dog." In another speech he announced, "I am going through to Maritz, and from there we are going through to Pretoria to pull

EVIL RESULTS OF THE MARITZ REBELLION

Nevertheless, the political situation remained profoundly troubled. The rebellion left widespread bitterness in its train. All the old memories of the Boer War were re-awakened and the half-closed breach between the races yawned wide once more. Multitudes of Boers who had taken no active part in the rebellion could not help feeling more or less sympathy with the movement, while the Anglo-Saxon element tended to look on every Dutchman with a certain suspicion as lukewarm or secretly hostile to the British cause. The Nationalists were deeply implicated in the rising, three Nationalist members of parliament having served in the rebel commandos. General Hertzog had not openly supported the revolt, but he minimized the movement as an "armed protest" against the government's high-handed policy and continued his opposition to the war. The Botha government dealt leniently with the rebels, a fact which aroused some criticism among the hotter Unionists, but Botha's leniency was undoubtedly wise, since severity would have merely aided the Nationalist election propaganda that was now in full swing.

GROWTH OF REPUBLICANISM

The parliamentary elections which were due in October, 1915, were regarded by all parties as a test of strength. General Hertzog stumped the country and redoubled his attacks on the British imperial idea. "Dragged against every will of ours into every war waged by Great Britain," asserted Hertzog, "it is not our will which dares decide whether our money shall be squandered, but the will



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A Hindu Shop in War Time

This photo was taken in the interior of German East Africa where enterprising Indian traders had established a thriving business in silks, blankets, embroideries and other products of their native land.

of the British government. The freedom which comes to us under our so-called free constitution does not in the least differ in essence from that of the slave who has been liberated for the moment under the provision that he may, as soon as his master may desire, again be put into chains."

Covertly seditious though the Nationalist campaign undoubtedly was, it evidently found favor with the rural Dutch. Premier Botha



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Women Vendors on a Street Corner in Cameroon, French Africa

undertook a counter-tour through the country districts but was badly received in many sections, especially in the Orange Free State, the Nationalist stronghold, where he was mercilessly heckled, the loyalist meetings usually ending in a free fight. So serious did the outlook appear that Botha and the Unionist leaders resolved to aid each other in the elections, no Afrikaner candidate standing in a normally Unionist constituency and no Unionist in constituencies where an Afrikaner had a better show of election. The elections proved the wisdom of this action, for, though

the loyalist coalition easily controlled the new parliament, the Nationalists enormously increased their vote, and an analysis of the election returns revealed the disquieting fact that over one-half the Dutch element was Nationalist—that is, anti-imperialist, anti-British, and republican.

The next three years were a period of relative quiet. The loyalist coalition government was so obviously master of the situation that overt action against it was worse than useless. The Nationalists, however, maintained their attitude and were apparently losing none of their popularity, since local elections from time to time revealed accessions of Nationalist voting strength. In parliament they hampered the government's war measures and rendered impossible even preliminary consideration of the question of conscription. South Africa sent only a small volunteer contingent to Europe, and Premier Botha frankly warned conscription advocates that any attempt to impose conscription on South Africa would have disastrous consequences.

AFTER THE WAR

The end of the war gave the Nationalists an opportunity to air their grievances more freely. At a party convention held at Bloemfontein, Orange Free State, in January, 1919, resolutions were drawn up declaring for national independence and appointing a delegation headed by General Hertzog which was to proceed to Europe and lay before the Versailles Conference the South African case for "self-determination." This Nationalist move roused great indignation among the loyalists, particularly in Unionist circles, and so heated did the political atmosphere become that General Hertzog was publicly assaulted on the steps of the Parliament building at Cape Town. Finally, after much argument, permission was granted the Nationalist delegates to proceed to Europe, which they reached by way of the United States, the crew of a British liner having refused to work the ship if they were included on the passenger list as originally planned. The delegates therefore sailed on a Dutch ship for New York. The Versailles Peace Conference naturally declined to take any action on the South African question.

IRELAND IN FERMENT

While Britain Fights for Preservation, Sinn Feiners Plot with Germany and Proclaim an "Irish Republic"

IRELAND has for many years been the most vexatious problem which the British Government has been called upon to solve. The Act of Union of 1801, approved by the Irish Parliament which had existed until that year, served to increase rather than diminish the gravity of the problem. No governmental activity against the spirit of Irish nationalism in the past, and no reform measures to the advantage of Ireland during the present generation have succeeded in overpowering that ardent Irish nationalism. The more conciliatory became the British Government—in which, it will be remembered, Ireland is slightly over-represented in proportion to its population—the more insistent grew the demand of a large majority of the Irish people for greater independence.

To solve the problem definitely, Gladstone's Liberal government introduced a Home Rule Bill for Ireland in 1886 and again in 1892. For various reasons, however, these bills were defeated. Finally in 1914, before the outbreak of the World War, both Houses of Parliament passed an act for Home Rule. But, at the moment of success, a new difficulty occurred.

Ireland was a house divided against itself. Although the majority of Irishmen were united by the Catholic religion and by the desire for Home Rule, the province of Ulster differed both in creed and in political aspirations from the rest of Ireland. The result was a clash of interests of a most violent nature. Not only did the Ulsterite members of Parliament, under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson, fight Home Rule, but in Ireland itself civil war seemed imminent. In Ulster troops were drilling in the streets ready to defend their lives; while in Dublin the National Volunteers were not only preparing to fight for Home Rule but on several occasions actually

collided with British troops. Blood was spilt, so intense was the passion on both sides. Dublin and Belfast saw huge demonstrations for and against Home Rule. Parliament was the scene of fierce and excited debate. The whole of Great Britain and Ireland was stirred to its depths by the shadows which were fast gathering. Both sides seemed determined not to give way. All groups felt that only a spark was needed to set the entire country aflame with rebellion and civil strife.

IRELAND AND THE WAR

An immediate and widespread Irish rebellion was prevented only by the outbreak of the World War in August, 1914. The government had announced its intention of modifying the Home Rule Bill to meet the demands of the Ulsterites, but on the day on which it became clear that Britain must declare war upon Germany, Premier Asquith announced in the House of Commons that the government would not proceed with the bill to amend the Home Rule Bill. It was necessary that all parties should unite in the face of the common foe. It was understood that all action on Ireland would be postponed. The position then was that the Irish Home Rule Bill had passed the House of Commons three times in the same form in three consecutive sessions. It had been twice rejected by the House of Lords. If it was rejected a third time, or if the session came to an end without action by the Lords, the Home Rule Bill would become law on receiving the royal assent. The bill had been sent to the Lords a third time, when the government had introduced into the House an amending bill providing for the temporary exclusion of those Ulster counties which should signify at the polls that they desired to remain part of England. The Irish Nationalists accepted this



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A Recruiting Scene in Ireland

The recruiting officer is finding out the number of men available for duty in the house.

compromise in order to avert bloodshed. But the Unionist (conservative) majority in the House of Lords amended the amended bill to provide for the permanent exclusion of Ulster. Thus matters stood when the war broke out.

LOYALIST IRELAND TO THE COLORS

As the troops of Europe hurried into the freshly dug trenches, ready for a great strug-

Nationalist rank and file were conciliated by prospects of Home Rule, and by England's open proclamation that she was fighting for the small nations of the world. Nevertheless the chief source of Irish recruits was Ulster, which succeeded in raising a whole division by the end of the year. From the rest of Ireland, too, recruits were coming in, but their numbers were proportionately far below that of Ulster.



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Viewing the Ruins in Dublin

Showing the effect of the great Sinn Fein Rebellion of 1916.

gle, the various Opposition leaders in England, as in other countries, hastened to give the government their aid. Nationalist and Unionist leaders alike tried to persuade their followers to join the colors. Mr. John Redmond called upon the National Volunteers and the Ulsterites to fight the common enemy side by side. He declared that the government might safely withdraw all its troops from Ireland; for the Nationalists would join with the Ulsterites in defending Ireland. The

THE SEPARATISTS

In this great European crisis the extremists of Ireland saw their opportunity for obtaining complete independence for their country. The Sinn Fein ["Ourselves Alone"] a separatist and republican organization, and the Irish Labor Party, which had promoted the Irish volunteer movement, were now vehemently opposing England's recruiting campaign. Through magazines, placards, and agitators,



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Sir Roger Casement

Knighted in 1911 for his services to the British crown in exposing atrocities perpetrated on South American natives, Sir Roger in 1916 was hanged as a traitor for his share in the Irish Rebellion. This aroused a bitterness not only among the Irish at home but among the Irish in America. Irish organizations in this country voted resolutions of condemnation, and openly proclaimed their desire that England be crushed by Germany. Even non-Irish publications called Casement a martyr, and condemned his execution.

these organizations urged their fellow-countrymen not to fight for a country which was not theirs and which had for so many years oppressed them. Thousands of Irishmen, fear-

ing that Britain might resort to conscription, fled to the United States. At the same time it was known that these extremists were negotiating with Germany. It was reported that

Sir Roger Casement, an Antrim man and a Liberal Home Ruler, who had honorably served Great Britain as a Consul in Africa and Brazil, was now in Berlin negotiating with the German Government. It was well known that he was in touch with a separatist movement, and organizing it to take advantage of the crisis in which England was involved.

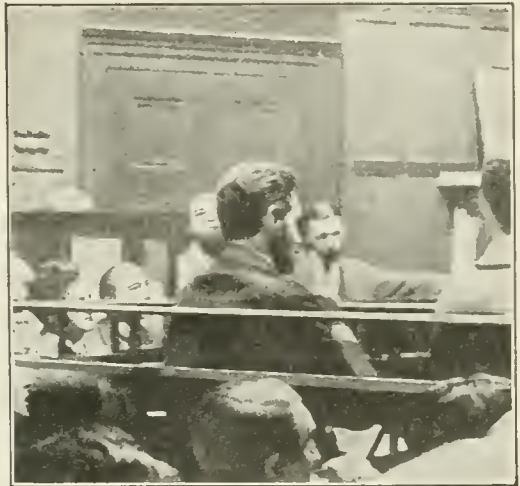
THE GROWTH OF THE SINN FEIN MOVEMENT

As the war continued, it became more and more clear that the extreme nationalist movement in Ireland was making tremendous headway. It could not be denied that in proportion to the population the island was furnishing an insignificant number of recruits. Lord Kitchener, knowing what a problem recruiting in Ireland was, expected very little. "Can you guarantee me 5,000 men?" he said to John Redmond. "If you can I will say 'thank you.' If you can guarantee me 12,000 I will say 'I am deeply obliged.'" Ireland was doing better than that, but still the flame of discontent was sweeping the country from one end to the other. And in this situation the cry of the Sinn Feiners that this was "England's war" had a wide appeal. In all parts of the country large sections of the population were rallying around this organization. At the same time many Irishmen in America were supporting the extreme side with money and applause. Large numbers of Irishmen actually wanted Germany to win, thinking that in that event Ireland would have a better chance for complete independence. An example of this irreconcilable attitude was James K. McGuire's book, *The King, The Kaiser, and Irish Freedom*, which created a tremendous sensation, since it frankly proclaimed that liberty for Ireland could be obtained only through the triumph of the Central Powers.

IRISH NATIONAL TROOPS

Not only were the Sinn Feiners attacking England by word, spoken and written, but they were organizing troops which they called the "Irish Volunteers." A large number of these troops were drawn from the National Volunteers, originally organized by Redmond to help England fight Germany. Large num-

bers of young men from Dublin, and the counties of Wexford, Kenney, and Cork rushed to the colors raised by the Sinn Fein. From the western and northern seaboard, where England was getting the lowest number of recruits, the Irish Volunteers were getting thousands of recruits. In the meantime Sir Roger Casement was busy organizing Irish prisoners in German prison camps. He frankly admitted that the Irish Brigade which he had organized was backed by the German Government. "The German Government," he declared, "simply arms, equips, and rations the men; it does not pay them one cent. The



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Sir Roger Casement in Court on Trial for High Treason

Irish Brigade is to fight solely in the cause of Ireland, and under no circumstances is it to be employed for any German end."

MILITARY EXPERIMENTS

These things were known in England. The London *Times*, in reporting a clash between Sinn Fein rioters and the Irish constabulary in Tullamore over a recruiting meeting, said: "In Dublin the Volunteers are beginning to indulge in military experiments. . . . On the night of February 5th (1916) a large body of City Volunteers decided to practice street fighting. They gathered with rifles and bayonets at 11 o'clock at Blackhall Place, an open space near the Liffey, and for a couple

of hours they engaged in strenuous exercises. . . . Some weeks ago a number of armed men appeared about midnight outside Dublin Castle. The officer in charge posted one body of troops at the upper, another at the lower gate. Another body was sent round to hold the exits at the rear. After these dispositions had been made to the officer's satisfaction, he inspected and dismissed his troops." What could these things mean? England was uneasy. Hundreds of arrests were made under

the coast of Ireland. Some advance information had aroused the suspicion of the authorities. They discovered that the ship was a German auxiliary and was accompanied by a German submarine. It was loaded with arms for the Irish Volunteers. The auxiliary was sunk and a number of prisoners were taken. Among these was Sir Roger Casement, who was already celebrated for his attempts to wean Irish prisoners in Germany from their allegiance to Britain. Casement was hurried



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War in the Streets of Dublin in 1916

the Defense of the Realm Act. Newspapers were suppressed. But no one thought that any serious danger confronted the Empire from the Irish side.

THE EASTER REBELLION: 1916

In April of 1916 all the bitterness of Ireland against England, all the agitation of the Sinn Fein, all the aspiration for complete independence came to a head in a bloody, tragic, and futile rebellion. During the night of April 20th a vessel seeming to be a neutral merchant ship was sighted by the British guards off

to London under strong military escort the next day, and not till the 24th did the government announce his capture. This seemed to be the signal for an uprising. Before the British authorities were aware of it, a number of Irish Volunteers in Dublin rushed to the General Post Office, compelled all officials to quit their posts, and proceeded to cut off all telegraphic communication with England and the rest of Ireland. The rebels posted sentinels, fully armed, at the doors and windows. Soon firing was heard from a neighboring street. The rebels were shooting down every man in khaki. They occupied St.



A Corner in one of the Government Mmunition Works in Ireland

Many of these were huge sheds of concrete, steel, and glass, filled with long rows of machines operated by women. The British felt that Ireland should catch the war spirit as all England did.

Stephen's Green, Sackman Street and other strategic places.

BLOODY DUBLIN

In a few days the rebellion broke out in full swing. England hurried troops over. These tried to draw a cordon around the city and smaller cordons around the areas occupied by the rebels. As a result of these movements blood flowed freely. Sniping became general throughout the city. Martial law was declared by both sides. The British used artillery and the streets echoed with the deep bellow of cannon. By Friday the rebels were starting fires in various places, and at night the sky for miles around was illuminated by the flames which leaped up suddenly from many points. The green rebel flag which flew over the post office was sharply outlined in the glow. Gradually, however, the rebellion began to weaken under the fire of the British troops. As the cordon of regulars hemmed them in closer and closer, the rebels were confined to only two areas. Toward the last days of April thousands of rebels surrendered. J. H. Pearce, the Commander-in-Chief and Provisional President of the "Irish Republic," which the Sinn Fein had proclaimed, was wounded in the leg; and James Connolly, commander of the rebel troops, was severely injured. More than 700 prisoners were captured, and soon the rebel leaders issued orders to their adherents to abandon their attempts. By Sunday the collapse of the rebellion came. On May 1st the British commander was able to report to his government that all the rebels in Dublin had surrendered, and that Dublin was safe once more.

THE AFTERMATH

When the smoke of battle had cleared away and the streets were cleared of blood, it was seen that the rebellion had resulted in loss of life and property that was sickening to behold. At least twenty great business establishments had been burned to the ground. Nearly 200 buildings were fired. And now that the rebellion was over, the English Government, which had been lax in preventing the rebellion, undertook the most stringent measures for punishing it. The proclamation

which was issued by the Sinn Feiners at the outbreak of the revolt called upon the people to rally to the support of the "Provisional Government of the Irish Republic." The proclamation went on to declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and referred to the long usurpation of that right by a foreign government. Ireland was declared to be a republic, a sovereign and independent state. Seven names were signed to this proclamation, including those of the "Provisional President," Pearce, and the commander of the troops, Connolly. By May 3d four of these were shot, and the other three jailed. Thereafter from day to day leaders of the rebellion were executed, or imprisoned. Passionate hearts in Ireland burned with rage at these executions.

The climax of England's policy came with the execution of Sir Roger Casement. This aroused a bitterness not only among the Irish at home but among the Irish in America. Irish organizations in this country voted resolutions of condemnation, and openly proclaimed their desire that England be crushed by Germany. Even non-Irish publications called Casement a martyr, and condemned his execution.

HOME RULE DISSENSION AGAIN

After this bloody incident the English Government could no longer afford to postpone the solution of the Irish question. The Home Rule Act was on the Statute Book, but Ulster still threatened armed rebellion if Home Rule were applied to all of Ireland. Some sort of harmony had to be brought into this violent disagreement of the two parts of Ireland. Lloyd George undertook to investigate the problem. He worked for a while under the Asquith ministry, and when that was overthrown and he became Prime Minister himself he continued his application to the problem. The Nationalists in Parliament were pressing him relentlessly: what does the government intend to do about Ireland? The Nationalists themselves were being pressed hard by their constituents, embittered and disillusioned by the ruthless revenge for the Easter rebellion: what does the government intend to do about Ireland? The law said: grant it Home Rule. But, the Nationalists said, Sir Edward Carson,

representing Ulster, was arrogant and dictatorial in his refusal to compromise. A bye-election had given a seat in Parliament to a Sinn Feiner. The government had to hurry. Lloyd George offered a solution which was wholly unsatisfactory to the Irish people outside of Ulster—he pledged himself to apply Home Rule to all of Ireland except Ulster. The Nationalists in Parliament would not accept this plan; it deprived of Home Rule, they said, those Catholic counties of Ulster who wanted it. A bitter controversy raged in and out of Parliament. Lloyd George was called a turncoat. The Nationalists made violent attacks on the government and were attacked in return.

THE EASTER MONDAY RIOTS: 1917

And while the official representatives of Ireland were fighting for Home Rule in England, the Sinn Fein was agitating for complete independence in Ireland. The effect of England's harsh punishment of the rebellion of 1916 was to create tremendous prestige for the Sinn Fein. On Easter Monday of 1917—the first anniversary of the rebellion—Dublin was the scene of great Sinn Fein demonstrations. The streets were full of promenaders, despite the blinding snowstorm. They gathered around the Sinn Fein colors of orange, white, and green hoisted on the ruined and blackened walls of the post office, which had been the headquarters of the Rebellion. The day was filled with marching and cheering, clashes between police and young men and women wearing the rebel colors. But no serious uprising occurred.

THE IRISH CONVENTION: PRELUDE

These demonstrations coupled with the victory of the Sinn Fein in bye-elections for Parliament hastened the government's attempts to solve the problem of Home Rule. The Nationalists would not accept Lloyd George's proposal to leave Ulster out, but they did accept his alternative proposal of "assembling a convention of Irishmen of all parties for the purpose of producing a scheme of Irish government." This convention was to represent the churches, local governing bodies, trade unions, commercial and educational institutions, and even the Sinn Fein. Irish-

men were to agree among themselves as to what form of government they wanted. But while the election for delegates to this convention was being held, a storm was brewing in Ireland. On June 18th, in conformance with an amnesty which England declared, a number of Sinn Fein prisoners who had taken part in the Easter Rebellion were released. This was a signal for tremendous demonstrations in Dublin. The released rebels were fêted and banqueted. Processions, led by



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A Scene from the Irish Rebellion

Scant respect was shown to the books in the Four Courts Library.

Eamon de Valera, a professor in Dublin University and a Sinn Fein candidate for Parliament, marched through the streets singing "God Save Ireland, a Nation Once Again," and carrying their idols on their shoulders. All that week Ireland was a seething whirlpool. In Cork the arrival of released prisoners was followed by riots in which windows were smashed and Sinn Fein flags hoisted. The Nationalists, who were rushing up and down the land trying to organize the Convention, were alarmed at these riots. But the Sinn Feiners continued to proclaim that only complete independence for Ireland would



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Tommies in Their New Support Line

After the first objectives had been captured by the British troops. Thousands of loyal Irish fought with their British comrades at the front.

satisfy them, and that, unless the Convention asked for that, they would have nothing to do with it. And the country continued to rally around the Sinn Fein. In the one week following the release of Sinn Fein prisoners seventy-two Sinn Fein clubs were organized. By July the position of the Nationalists became even more alarmingly unstable. In East Clare the Sinn Fein candidate, de Valera, was returned to Parliament by an overwhelming vote to take the place of W. H. K. Redmond, a brother of the Nationalist leader. England knew clearly enough what that meant. The Sinn Fein was committed inflexibly to absolute independence for Ireland, special representation at the world peace conference, and to revolution, if these things could not be obtained by peaceful means.

THE IRISH CONVENTION: THE COMPROMISE

At last the Irish Convention, representing exclusively the moderate elements, met behind

the closed door of Trinity College, and, under the fair and able chairmanship of Sir Horace Plunkett, tried to come to some sort of an agreement. For months and months the secret debate went on without any effect whatsoever on the Irish situation. To the extreme separatists the real ineffectiveness of the Convention became evident when, only a few days after its opening session, Lloyd George announced in Parliament that Ireland would get Home Rule and no more. At the same time he attacked violently the whole Sinn Fein movement and the propaganda of Professor de Valera, which he characterized as cold-blooded incitement to rebellion. He accused the Sinn Fein of plotting again with the German Government to foment an armed uprising. At the same time the Sinn Fein movement was spreading like wildfire in Ireland. The moderate Convention, trying to solve Ireland's problem in a rational deliberative way, was almost forgotten in the wave of passion and hysteria which swept the island.



British Poster Which Met with Scant Response from the Irish

By the opening of 1918 it became clear to the Irish people that the Convention was an utter disappointment to the Sinn Fein following. Owing to his leadership of the Ulster irconcilables, Sir Edward Carson resigned his post in the Cabinet. This was taken as a sign that he would not compromise with Home Rule. Then came news that the United States had interceded with the British Government to settle the Irish question. But

still nothing happened. Ireland was fast drifting into anarchy. Lloyd George hurriedly conferred with the leaders of the Convention. Still nothing happened, and still Ireland grew more and more lawless and hysterical.

THE FIGHT OVER CONSCRIPTION

At last, by April, the results of the Irish Convention were presented to Parliament.

These decisions were still under consideration when the government introduced a Home Rule Bill which made the whole design of Britain clear. The bill provided for (1) an Irish Parliament in Dublin, (2) an executive responsible to Parliament, (3) safeguards for Protestants hitherto in Unionist minorities, (4) new customs arrangements, and (5) military service. As soon as Ireland discovered that the British Government intended to enforce Home Rule and conscription at the same time, a wave of indignation swept over the entire Irish population. Not only the extremists but even the Nationalists rose in passionate protest. In Parliament a fierce debate broke out between Lloyd George and the Nationalist members. The Premier insisted that the war was as much Ireland's as England's, and that conscription should be applied to the one as well as to the other. "It is indefensible," he cried, "that you should ask young men of eighteen years and married men of thirty-five and forty with families, and even up to fifty in England, Scotland, and Wales, and that you should compel them to fight for the freedom and independence of a small Catholic nationality in Europe, while the young men of twenty to twenty-five in Ireland are under no obligation to take up arms for a cause which is just as much theirs as ours. It is not merely illogical, it is unjust." But the Nationalist leaders shouted to him that the enforcement of conscription would be a declaration of war on Ireland, that they wanted neither his conscription nor his Home Rule. Even the British press called the proposed conscription of Irishmen "midsummer madness," an "insane blunder," a measure calculated "to sting an indignant people once more into open rebellion." In Ireland itself Home Rule was forgotten in the excitement over conscription. The Sinn Fein calmly proceeded to organize the Volunteers for resistance to the measure. The Roman Catholic priests were holding meetings of the people to unite them against conscription. Sinn Feiners and Nationalists forgot their differences and joined hands to fight compulsory military service. "Irishmen will never fight as slaves!" cried de Valera, now leader of the Sinn Fein. Again the flame of a revolutionary spirit swept through the Irish people. The English Government made swift

arrests, collected troops, tanks, and guns to suppress any possible armed rebellion. But the feverish crowds listened to their impassioned leaders. "Go out and fight and I will lead you with a naked sword!" cried a young priest, carried away by his eloquence. "De Valera is next to God!" cried another. Such was the spirit of the people.

A SINN FEIN PLOT FRUSTRATED

A new revolution was expected in Ireland at any moment. Soon, in the latter half of May, the new Lord Lieutenant of the country, Viscount French, announced that he had arrested a number of Sinn Feiners on definite evidence that they were laying a revolutionary plot in the United States, with the aid of German agents. But in the face of these arrests Dublin remained "sensationally calm." This exposure of a plot was used by Lloyd George as a basis for postponing the application of Home Rule, and once more the Irish problem was an unsettled chaos. It seemed that Home Rule and conscription were both dead for a time. The government was severely criticized. Its Irish policy, said part of the British press, had crumbled to dust.

THE "IRISH REPUBLIC"

Meanwhile the Sinn Fein was marking time. As 1918 was drawing to a close, peace and a new parliamentary election seemed to hold out great hope. At last came the armistice. England was ready for reconstruction. The Parliament which had perpetuated its own existence throughout the war now dissolved and a new legislature was to be elected. The results in Ireland were astounding. The vast majority of seats went to the Sinn Fein candidates. These new M. P.'s, 73 in number, announced that their election was Ireland's declaration of independence. Instead of proceeding to take their seats in London, they met in Dublin, constituted themselves a "National Assembly," declared Ireland an independent republic, drew up a constitution, and elected a government. Three delegates, headed by de Valera, were appointed to the Paris Peace Conference, there to plead the cause of Ireland. The new "government" had difficulties on all sides. It was not recog-

nized, not only as far as outside powers were concerned but even as far as the Irish people themselves were concerned. The Unionists still were strong, and a new Center Party complicated even more. But the hope of the Sinn Feiners was pinned upon the Peace Con-

Irish Race in America" was opened in Philadelphia in February of 1919, attended by over 5,000 delegates from all parts of the country. Under the chairmanship of Justice Cohalan of the New York Supreme Court, the convention proceeded to make arrange-



Courtesy of Red Cross Magazine.

Stemming the Tide of Invasion

British heavy guns going forward to the line of battle. The piles of stone on the right are held ready to repair the road.

ference because of the Allied slogan "self-determination for small nationalities."

THE IRISH MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

As a result of the Sinn Fein action, a number of the newly elected members of Parliament were arrested, and among them was the Irish idol, Eamon de Valera. For a while the Sinn Feiners were downcast, but soon their spirits were revived by the sensational escape of de Valera from Lincoln Prison. While their representative in Paris, J. T. O'Kelly, was pounding on the doors of the Peace Conference for an audience, the leading Irish-Americans were organizing help in this country. A tremendous convention of "the

ments for raising \$1,000,000 in six months in addition to the \$2,500,000 which had already been pledged to the support of the "Irish Republic." A resolution was passed urging the Peace Conference to apply to Ireland the principle of self-determination. The resolution was presented by Cardinal Gibbons. A declaration was unanimously passed saying that a state of war existed between England and Ireland, "which, in the interests of the peace of the world the Peace Conference cannot ignore."

THE IRISH-AMERICAN MISSION

The convention also appointed a commission consisting of Frank P. Walsh, once head of

the Industrial Relations Commission; Michael J. Ryan, of Philadelphia, and Edward F. Dunne, ex-Governor of Illinois, to go to Paris to plead for Ireland. First the commission went to Ireland. At Dublin they were honored by de Valera and the Sinn Fein. But their presence in Ireland naturally aroused a storm of protest from the British press, which saw with reason in their mission undue inter-

Paris Conference. But their efforts were in vain. Speeches which they had delivered in various parts of England and Ireland on behalf of the Sinn Fein cause aroused the ire of the British Government, and as a result Secretary Lansing notified Walsh that the Paris Conference could not with propriety listen to the Sinn Feiners. At the same time the British press violently attacked the Walsh



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The Big Three in the Ulster Crisis

From left to right, Sir Edward Carson, Lord Londonderry, and Capt. Craig.

ference by strangers. Later the mission was entertained by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and on the same day it greeted, in the name of the Americans of Irish race, the "Parliament" of Ireland. At this session Professor de Valera exclaimed that "Ireland would never be cheated by England!" and welcomed the mission which had come "to defend the right." The chief attempts of the Irish-American mission were directed toward obtaining a hearing for de Valera and his associates before the

commission for fermenting revolt by raising the hopes of the Irish people. From quotations of speeches made by the members of the commission it appears that the Irish were told that America recognizes their republic. After a considerable tempest, the Walsh commission returned to America without any definite accomplishment to boast of. The Paris Conference would not listen to the cause of the Sinn Fein, which thereupon concentrated anew upon local measures.

EGYPT, THE KEYSTONE OF THE EMPIRE

Turkish Threats and German Intrigue Fail to Dislodge the British from the Nile

AN UNRULY LINK OF EMPIRE

EGYPT is unquestionably one of the gravest problems confronting British statesmanship. Its geographical situation, with the Suez Canal, makes it the vital link between the eastern and western halves of the British Empire, and nearly all Englishmen are agreed that continued British possession of Egypt is an absolute necessity. Yet never at any time since Britain's occupation of Egypt in 1882 have the Egyptians really accepted the idea of permanent British rule. Accordingly, native discontent has always been present, has increased during the last two decades, and was never so intense as it is today.

The basic difficulty is that the Egyptians possess a national self-consciousness much greater than that of most Oriental peoples. In fact, when England occupied Egypt in 1882, Egypt was in the midst of a fierce

Nationalist movement, with the war-cry "Egypt for the Egyptians," aiming at the expulsion of all foreign influences from the valley of the Nile. England at once took the disorganized country in hand, and under the iron hand of the great English proconsul Evelyn Baring, Lord Cromer, Egypt soon rose from chaotic bankruptcy to abounding prosperity.

EGYPTIAN NATIONALISM RAMPANT

The material benefits of British rule, however, did not kill Egyptian Nationalism, and about twenty years ago the Nationalists came out publicly as a definite political party demanding independence and the termination of British rule. So long as Lord Cromer ruled Egypt, seditious tendencies were restrained with a heavy hand. In 1907 Lord Cromer resigned and his successor, Sir Eldon Gorst, tried to meet Egyptian discontent by concilia-



A Supply Depot in Egypt

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tion. The result was not a success. The Nationalists wished independence, and the new policy, interpreted as weakness, merely encouraged them to a more reckless propaganda. Accordingly, in 1911 Sir Eldon Gorst resigned in favor of Lord Kitchener. After this there was no more talk of conciliation. Egypt was told plainly that England had no intention of evacuating Egypt and that the Egyptians were not fit for anything approach-

Egypt was, in fact, very difficult. Although in fact England had complete control of Egypt, in law Egypt was still a dependency of the Ottoman Empire, Britain exercising merely a "temporary occupation." Now it soon became evident that Turkey was going to join England's enemies, the Teutonic Empires, while it was equally evident that the Egyptians sympathized with the Turks, the native sovereign of Egypt, Khedive Abbas



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British Army Camels

Collected by the British Government in Egypt for sale to the natives. These camels were used during the war for desert campaigns.

ing real self-government within any discernible future. A brief outburst of Nationalist rage at these pronouncements was met by Lord Kitchener with drastic repression, most of the Nationalist leaders being imprisoned or expelled from the country. For the next three years Egypt was quiet, but it was the quiet of the mounting steam-gauge.

EGYPT AND THE WAR

The European War gave the Nationalists fresh hope and encouraged them to renew their agitation. The position of England in

Hilmi, making no secret of his pro-Turkish views. During the first months of the European War, while Turkey was still nominally neutral, the Egyptian native press, despite the British censorship, was full of veiled seditious statements, while the unruly attitude of the Egyptian populace and the stirrings among the Egyptian native regiments left no doubt as to how the wind was blowing. England was seriously alarmed. The Turks were massing troops across the Sinai peninsula and were threatening the Suez Canal. British and Colonial troops poured into Egypt, and the situation was tense and the outlook dark.

ENGLAND ANNEXES EGYPT

Accordingly, when Turkey openly joined Germany in November, 1914, England took the plunge and formally proclaimed Egypt part of the British Empire. The momentous proclamation of the new order, issued December 19, 1914, read: "His Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs gives notice that, in view of the action of His Highness Abbas Hilmi Pasha, lately Khedive of Egypt, who has adhered to the King's enemies, his Majesty's Government have seen fit to depose him from the Khedivate, and that high dignity has been offered, with the title of Sultan of Egypt, to His Highness Prince Hussein Kamil Pasha, eldest living Prince of the family of Mohammed Ali, and has been accepted by him." Thus Egypt was declared a Protectorate of the British Empire.

THE TURKS AS DELIVERERS

The new status of Egypt was recognized by Britain's allies, but was of course denounced by Turkey, the deposed Khedive, and the Egyptian Nationalists. The Sultan of Turkey issued the following violent manifesto: "To my dear Egyptians! You know how England took over the direction of the country. It was a perpetual grief to me to see you suffering under the English tyranny, and I awaited a favorable moment to put an end to that state of things. I thank the Almighty for having vouchsafed me the happy occasion of sending one of my Imperial armies to deliver your beautiful country, which is a Moslem heritage. I am certain that, with the aid of God, my Imperial army will succeed in delivering you from the enemy and his interference in your affairs, and in giving you your autonomy and your liberties. I am certain that love of their country will lead my Egyptian Sons to take part in this war of liberation with all the zeal of which they are capable.—*Mehmed V.*" The Egyptian Nationalist attitude was set forth in a manifesto issued by the party's official leader, Mohammed Farid Bey, from his place of exile, Geneva, Switzerland, early in 1915. The manifesto protested hotly against "the new illegal régime proclaimed by England the 18th of last December. England, which pretends

to make war on Germany to defend Belgium, ought not to trample under foot the rights of Egypt, nor consider the treaties relative thereto as 'scraps of paper.' The nation received this change with very bad grace, and awaits with impatience the arrival of the Ottoman army of liberation."

The "army of liberation" was, however, never destined to arrive. The Turkish assaults on the Suez Canal failed, and the British, taking the offensive, presently began



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Egyptian Troops

Marching through the Citadel Square at Cairo.

their attack on Syria which was to end with the downfall of the Ottoman Empire itself. Meanwhile, in Egypt, seditious stirrings were put down, the untrustworthy Egyptian native army was practically interned, and Egypt, flooded with British troops, lapsed into sullen silence.

RENEWED UNREST

This silence, however, like that following Kitchener's proconsulship in 1911, was merely the lull before another storm. The end of the

European War in November, 1918, gave the signal for a renewed outburst of Nationalist propaganda. Basing their efforts upon the doctrine of "self-determination of peoples," the Nationalists began fresh demands for independence and attempted to get Egypt's case before the Peace Conference at Versailles. The first move was the appearance before the British authorities in Egypt of a Nation-

Roushdi Pasha, suggested that he and another of his colleagues be allowed to visit London and likewise urged that the Nationalist deputation be allowed to go thither for a hearing. This placed the British authorities in Egypt in a rather trying position. However, they were resolved to stand firm, and accordingly told Roushdi Pasha that England could not abandon its responsibility for the continuance



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Egyptian Laborers Who Aided the British in France

The loyalty of all Britain's colonies was an important factor in the Mother country's success on the Western front.

alist deputation headed by a high Egyptian official, Saïd Pasha Zagloul. The deputation presented a program of complete autonomy for Egypt, leaving England only a right of supervision over the public debt and facilities for shipping in the Suez Canal. The deputation further demanded leave to proceed forthwith to London to lay their program before the British Home authorities. Shortly after the appearance of this deputation no less a person than the Egyptian Prime Minister,

of order and good government in Egypt, now a British protectorate and an integral part of the Empire, and that no useful purpose would be served by allowing the Nationalist leaders to go to London and there advance immoderate demands which could not possibly be entertained. As regards the two Ministers, their presence in London would be welcome later, but at present it was inopportune.

The English attitude was thus firm, but the Nationalists showed no disposition to admit

defeat. Roushdi Pasha and other Egyptian Ministers at once resigned, while the Nationalists started a plebiscite to determine the attitude of the Egyptian people. Some weeks later the Nationalists declared that the plebiscite showed the bulk of the Egyptian people behind them in their demands for "self-determination." So encouraged were the Nationalists that they grew more provocative in their tactics, until, at the beginning of March, 1919, the British authorities felt compelled to adopt repressive measures. A general round-up of Nationalist leaders was ordered, and Saïd Pasha Zagloul and other prominent agitators were deported to Malta.

INSURRECTION

Then came an explosion. From one end of the Nile Valley to the other there burst forth a storm of rioting and popular violence. Everywhere it was the same story. Railways and telegraph lines were systematically cut. Trains were stalled and looted. Isolated British officers and soldiers were attacked and murdered. In Cairo alone over two thousand houses were sacked by the mob. Soon the danger was rendered more acute by the irruption out of the desert of swarms of Bedouin

Arabs bent on plunder. For a few days Egypt trembled on the verge of anarchy, and the British Government admitted in Parliament that all Egypt was in a state of insurrection.

The British authorities, however, met the crisis with vigor and unflinching resolution. Throughout the war, Egypt had contained a very large number of British troops, and most of these were still in the country, demobilization having only just begun. As soon as the insurrection broke out these troops already on the way home were recalled, the officers appealing to the disappointed men to return willingly in order to save their comrades from destruction. The Sudanese black regiments remained unaffected by the (to them) alien Nationalist propaganda, and the Egyptian police generally obeyed orders. The upshot was that, after several weeks of disorder, the insurrectionary movement was gotten under control. The crisis had, however, been a very serious one. The destruction of property was considerable and the loss of life heavy. Order was, indeed, restored, but only the presence of massed British troops guaranteed that order would be maintained. Egyptian unrest was obviously both widespread and profound.



Courtesy of Red Cross Magazine.

Camels for Transporting British Wounded in Egypt

INDIA LOYAL TO ITS EMPEROR

Though the Sultan Orders a Holy War, India Remains Loyal, but Demands More Home Rule

A MINIATURE WORLD

INDIA is almost a world within itself. Shut off from the rest of Asia by the stupendous barrier of the Himalayas and washed by the ocean on its other two fronts, this huge triangular peninsula, large as all Europe except Russia, is inhabited by all sorts and conditions of men. Its swarming population of more than 313,000,000 souls is made up of nearly all the primary races of mankind, speaking a multitude of different languages, holding to many faiths, and occupying widely different stages of civilization. Though today usually spoken of as a unit, India has never been in any sense a "nation," and never knew real political unity until it was united under British rule. Indeed, the modern "Nationalist" movement is the direct outcome of British rule, and is as yet confined to the educated upper classes, for the vast, illiterate mass of peasant cultivators who make up the bulk of India's population are too much engrossed in the task of providing themselves with their daily bread to take any interest in either the general politics of India or the happenings of the outer world.

INDIAN "NATIONALISM"

Of recent years there has grown up a "Nationalist" movement, looking toward an independent Indian State and the termination of British rule. The number of self-conscious Nationalists was comparatively small, but they were able to sway multitudes of ignorant persons by their social prestige and they succeeded in making serious trouble. Their propaganda varied with their character. Some contented themselves with peaceful propaganda; others, believing in violent methods, resorted to bomb-throwing, assassination of English officials, and terrorization of the

European community in India. The British Government naturally adopted drastic measures against the revolutionists, and the years preceding the Great War were marked by numerous trials, deportations, and executions. Indian unrest excited much attention in England and also in Germany, where the ambitious promoters of the war hoped at the psychological moment to set India in a blaze.

INDIA AND THE WAR

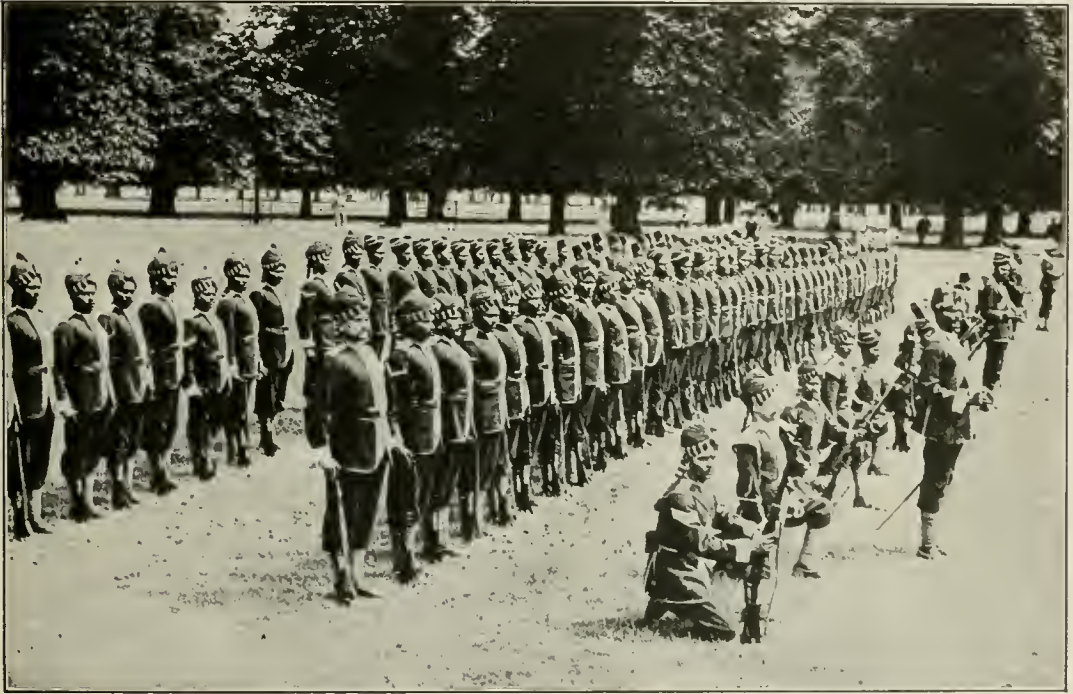
Such was the somewhat disturbed condition of India in 1914. The outbreak of the European War, however, disappointed the fishers in troubled waters. With comparatively few exceptions the people of India rallied loyally to the British cause and were fervent in their expressions of devotion to the Empire. They did not content themselves with words. The autonomous Native States were as staunch as the British-administered provinces in the tender of generous grants of aid. All the native armies were placed unreservedly at the Imperial Government's disposal. Even from beyond the frontiers of India proper came an offer of a thousand troops from the Grand Lama of Tibet, accompanied by the assurance that in scores of remote monasteries thousands of Lamas were turning the giant prayer-wheels and invoking Divine aid for the success of British arms. In a special message of thanks to the Princes and Peoples of the Indian Empire, the King of England (also, be it remembered, "Emperor of India" — "Kaisar-i-Hind") said: "Among the many incidents that have marked the unanimous uprising of the populations of my Empire in defense of its unity and integrity, nothing has moved me more than the passionate devotion to my Throne expressed both by my Indian subjects and by the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs of India, and their prodi-

gal offers of their lives and their resources in the cause of the realm. Their one-voiced demand to be foremost in the conflict has touched my heart, and has inspired to the highest issues the love and devotion which, as I well know, has ever linked my Indian subjects and myself."

INDIAN LOYALTY

The very practical bases of Indian loyalty to the Empire in the European conflict and

know what the Germanization of India would mean, and they know, too, that if England were driven out of India, Germany, should she be successful in this war, would step in. The thinking element among the Indians of all classes realizes that our country, divided as it is into hundreds of principalities, each inclined to be jealous of the others, could not hope to stand alone even if British rule were withdrawn. Germany's two-fold purpose in striving to create dissension in India is, first, to give trouble to England, which



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A Few of Britain's Loyal Allies

These sturdy Indian riflemen traveled all the way from northern India to join the British forces in the war zone.

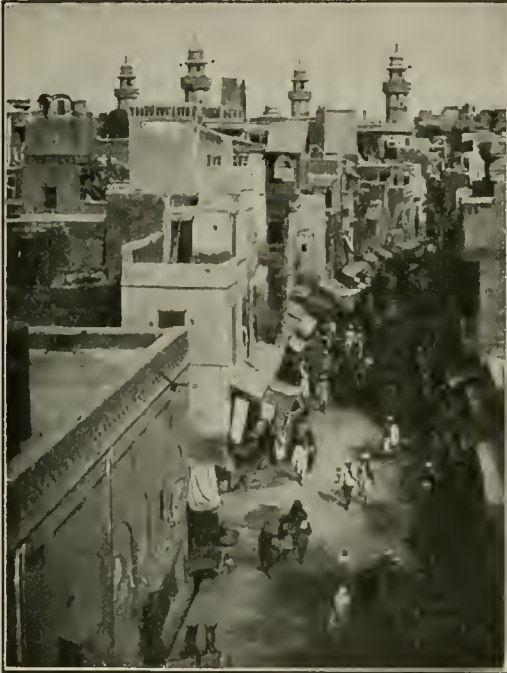
the reasons why German propaganda had failed of any appreciable effect were typically voiced by His Highness the Aga Khan, the leading Mohammedan of India. "Germany made a mistake about India," said the Aga Khan shortly after the beginning of the war, "and anybody who counts on India being false to England will come a cropper. Many of my fellow-countrymen have been in Africa and seen the German administration of the East and Southwest African colonies. They

might cost her the victory in the war, and, second, to seize India as a part of the Kaiser's dream of world-empire. This scheme is as well known in India as at Berlin. Indians need no urging from England to frustrate it, because they fully comprehend the peril of being crushed beneath the mailed fist of Prussian militarism. After all, the hope of India lies in the King-Emperor and his government. There can be no united India until England has finished the work of knitting together

into one strong nation the confusing jumble of races, religions, and castes she has governed so successfully for one hundred and fifty years."

DEAFNESS TO THE "HOLY WAR"

This speech of the Aga Khan foreshadowed the loyal rejection of a more insidious summons to revolt. A few months after the beginning of the war, Turkey threw in her lot with Germany and went to war with Britain and the other Allies. Now this en-



A Street in Delhi, India

tailed serious possibilities, because the Sultan of Turkey was also the "Caliph" or spiritual head of the Mohammedan world, and because he at once issued a call to Moslems everywhere to rise in a "Holy War" against England and her Allies. In India there were nearly 67,000,000 Mohammedans, while between India and Turkey lay Persia, where the bulk of the population was pro-Turkish and inclined to rise at the Sultan's call.

It was inevitable that a certain sympathy for Turkey should be awakened among the Indian Moslems, and, in fact, toward the close of 1914, the wild tribes of the Northwest

Frontier toward Persia did rise in a troublesome revolt which needed over 350,000 Anglo-Indian troops to put down. But the Mohammedans of India proper almost universally disregarded the summons to the "Holy War." Indian Moslems generally recognized that this call was a trick devised by the free-thinking "Young Turks" at the instigation of the Germans. All the leading Mohammedans of India, including the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Aga Khan and the rulers of the various Mohammedan Protected States, at once issued proclamations explaining the true facts to their subjects and enjoining loyalty to the British "Raj" as something required by both the precepts of Islam and their own true interests. The upshot was that, except on the northwest border, there was no serious trouble. Disturbances there were, here and there, both from Mohammedan fanatics and even more from Hindu Nationalists, but these were sporadic and were handled by ordinary police measures. So tranquil was the peninsula and so loyal the general temper of its inhabitants that before the first year of the war was out the British Government had been able to send over 200,000 Indian troops to fight on the battlefields of Europe and the Near East.

NEW MOVE FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

Although the war had actually diminished, instead of increasing, revolutionary agitation for independence, it must not be thought that the far more widespread movement for an increasing measure of self-government within the political structure of the British Empire had been quenched or stilled. Even before the war Britain had made many minor concessions to the autonomists, so that Indians now occupied many of the higher governmental posts. Still, the real power yet remained in the hands of Englishmen, who had long demonstrated their ability to give India a government unsurpassed for efficiency and integrity anywhere in the world. This did not satisfy native aspirations, which desired not merely good government but government acceptable to Indian patriots because responsible to them. India's proved loyalty to the Empire and the sacrifices in both men and money which had been so freely made were

so many fresh arguments adduced for the granting of a larger measure of self-government. Numerous were the memoranda presented by various Nationalist organizations to the British authorities, and even the most conservative of these memorials demanded far more than the government had as yet shown a disposition to grant. The chief demands were for fuller representation of natives in the Civil Service and in both executive and legislative bodies, fiscal autonomy, assurance that India's place in any scheme of Imperial Federation should be similar to that of the self-governing Dominions like Australia and Canada, and the creation of something ap-

system of the Hindu faith, which is the great barrier to the establishment of anything like modern political institutions in India. The American or European unacquainted with the circumstances can have no conception of the enormous and baneful influence exerted by the caste system in every phase of Hindu life. Hindu society is divided into four classes or castes. First and foremost stand the Brahmins, the priestly caste. After them in order of precedence come the Kshatriyas or warriors, the Vaisias or traders, and the Sudras or persons of menial occupations. Lastly, below these four recognized castes are the Pariahs or "Outcasts." These unfortunates are those



Indian Troops in Their Desert Trenches Awaiting the Turks

proaching a genuine elected Parliament of Hindustan. The chief supporters of these memorials were, of course, upper-caste Hindus. The Mohammedans, being a minority in India, showed some reserve in supporting reforms which might subject them to a Hindu majority, while even the lowest castes of the Hindus themselves displayed signs of fear lest they be subjected to the unrelieved domination of a high-caste Brahmin oligarchy, instead of, as at present, enjoying full protection under the British "Raj," holding, as it did, the scales evenly between all classes and creeds.

THE BANE OF CASTE

It is this religious domination exercised by the Brahmins, together with the whole caste

who have lost their caste status or are the descendants of those thus afflicted, the losing of caste working "corruption of blood." Some of these Pariahs are of Brahmin stock. Nevertheless, they are as much Pariahs as the rest. The Pariahs are, in fact, absolutely "without the pale" of Hindu society, which does not even recognize their existence. Their wretched lot may be inferred from the agonizing humiliations to which they are constantly exposed. For example: when an Indian of any other caste permits a Pariah to speak to him, the unfortunate being is compelled to hold his hand before his mouth lest the man with caste be contaminated by his breath. If even a relatively lowly Sudra (disdained by Brahmins as almost unclean) should by accident touch a Pariah, the Sudra is obliged to purify

himself in a bath. As for the Brahmins, they cannot so much as behold a Pariah, who is obliged to fly at the Brahmin's approach. If a Pariah is required to enter a house of caste a door is purposely made for him, and while there he must keep his eyes fixed on the ground, for if he should so much as glance at household objects, such as kitchen utensils, they are defiled and must all be broken. The very shadow of a Pariah cast on food taints it, and it must be thrown away even though the upper-caste eater be starving. Down to recent times the Pariahs were slaves, and they are still so regarded by the Hindus, though

Hindus, would not submit to Hindu domination, but would promptly revolt, thus starting a fearful civil war. These are some of the reasons why many intelligent Hindus are not Nationalists and prefer English governance to premature attempts at native rule.

PLAGUE, DROUGHT, AND FAMINE

Though India was not the scene of either foreign invasion or civil strife, it was indirectly affected by the war through the terrible scourge of Spanish influenza. This disease, formidable throughout the world, reached India in the autumn of 1918 and soon attained a virulence unknown to European countries. Within a few months between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 persons died—a toll fully half as great as that exacted by the dreaded bubonic plague in twenty years. The disease raged with especial severity in the north. Some provinces became realms of horror, where city streets and country lanes were alike littered with the dead and dying, while the overflowing hospitals were so choked with corpses that the few remaining nurses were unable to remove the bodies to make room for fresh patients. Night and day the funeral pyres heaped high with dead flamed to the sky, while the most elementary public services fell into complete disorganization.

Moreover, behind the grim phantom of plague loomed the gaunt specter of famine. The year 1918 was a year of drought, and next year was even worse. These two successive drought years literally burnt up the country with the tropical heat. Crops absolutely failed over wide areas, and portended one of the most terrible famines in all Indian history. The weakening of the population by influenza made the prospect even more serious, while the fact that the civilized world was engaged in war and itself on short rations made the likelihood of famine relief such as had assuaged other similar crises most unlikely. Already in 1918 many persons died of starvation. In 1919 conditions were terrible. In many provinces even the seed-corn had been eaten, and the population were reduced to living skeletons. By the summer of 1919 it was officially estimated that 32,000,000 persons had died of hunger, with 150,000,000 more on the verge of starvation. This nat-



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Burmese Troops Around a Small Fire

These fighters from the tropics are trying to keep warm in the wintry climate of northern France.

free by English law. Now there are fully 50,000,000 Pariahs in India. No wonder they fear a deterioration of legal status under a Hindu political régime. Furthermore, this fear of the Pariahs is shared to a certain extent by the lower castes, who dread a Brahmin oligarchical government. Already the Brahmins have foreshadowed what might happen by attempting to terrorize lower-caste voters at such elections as already exist, threatening with "outcasting" all who should not vote the Brahmin ticket. Of course the Mohammedans have no castes, but they naturally fear the political domination of a Brahmin-led Hindu majority outnumbering them by over four to one. In fact, the Mohammedans, being better fighters than the

urally disorganized the whole cycle of normal existence, and further aggravated the situation. Traffic ceased, mails were undelivered, and business was at a standstill.

THE REVIVAL OF UNREST

It was doubtless due to these terrible conditions that, by the early part of the year

success. For the moment the British Government felt confident of handling the situation, because, at the beginning of the European War, a law had been passed entitled the Defense of India Act, similar to the British Defense of the Realm Act, giving the authorities extraordinary powers concerning all manner of seditious activities, and thus furnishing effective means of combating Nationalist and



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Hindu Servants of British Officers Moving Their Kits Up to the Front in Northern France

1918, violent unrest again began to raise its head in India. Another factor making for revolutionary agitation was undoubtedly the Russian Revolution. In India, as everywhere else in the world, the Russian upheaval sent a sympathetic tremor through all those elements in all countries which were dissatisfied with the present order of things. Within a few months after the triumph of Bolshevism in Russia at the close of 1917, Bolshevik agitators were discovered in India, and their propaganda was not without some measure of

Anarchistic plots. However, in view of the rising wave of seditious activities, the authorities looked with concern into the future, because the Defense of India Act was to expire automatically six months after the close of the war, whereas the authorities thought they must retain their exceptional powers under the Act if India was to be kept free from disorder in the inevitably trying reconstruction period to come. The situation was thus far from bright with troublous omens for the future.

THE "BLACK COBRA BILL"

Accordingly, an investigation committee was appointed, headed by Justice Rowlatt, to investigate the situation, and the committee's report, handed in toward the close of 1918, painted a depressing picture of the strength of revolutionary unrest in India. The report showed that not only had a considerable number of young men of the upper classes given



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Assouan, the Largest City of Upper Egypt

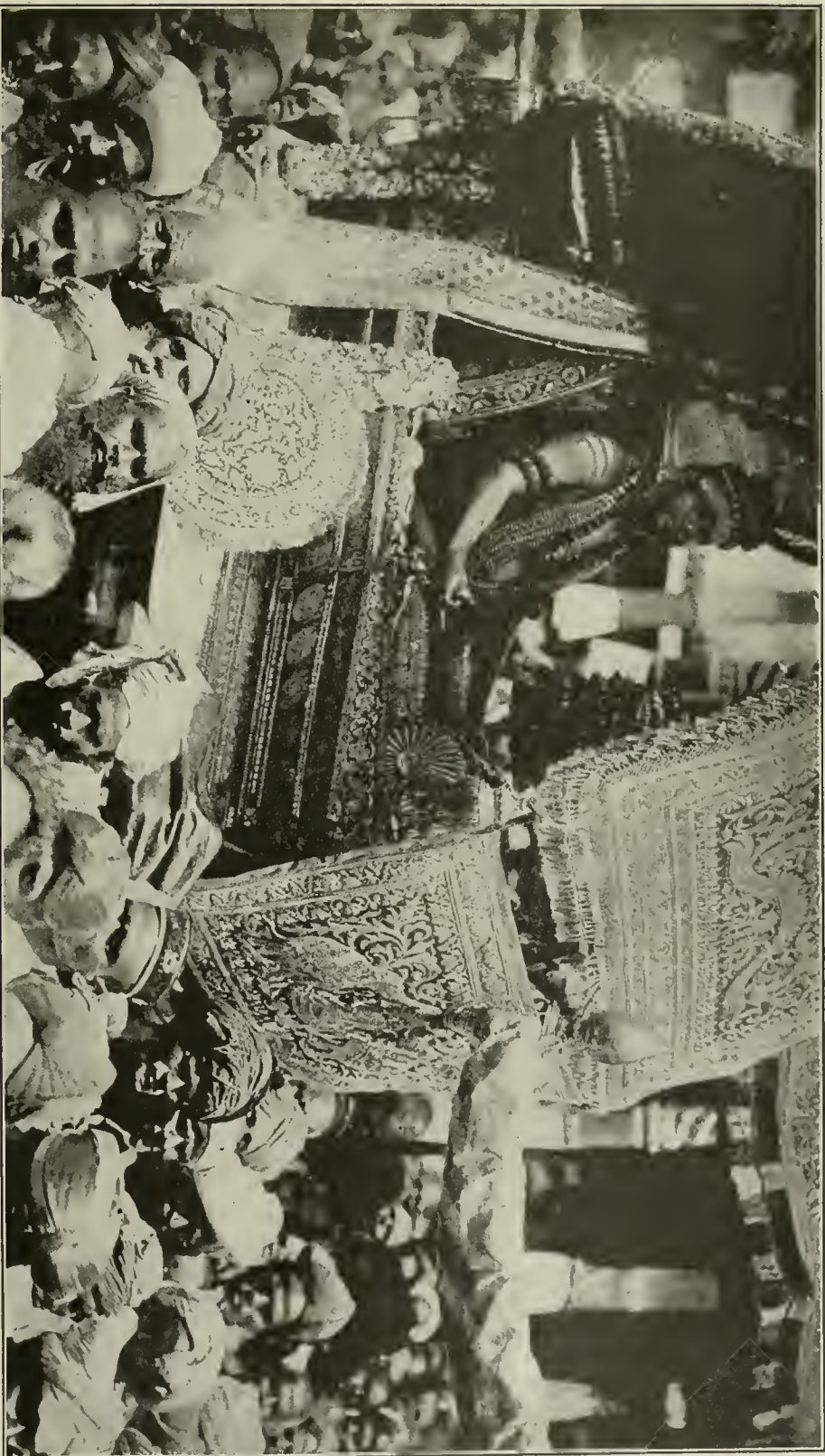
their services to the promotion of anarchical movements but that the ranks were filled with men belonging to other social orders, including the military, and that there was clear evidence of revolutionary disaffection in the native Indian army. Soldiers returning by the tens of thousands from the World War brought back to their comrades in barracks and to their native villages all sorts of strange notions and discontents picked up in Europe and the Near East. To combat all this the Rowlatt Committee recommended the permanent investiture of the authorities with special rights

such as the authorization to search premises and arrest persons on mere suspicion of seditious activity, without definite evidence of the same.

Impressed with the gravity of the Committee's report, the authorities formulated a project of law officially known as the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, unofficially known as the Rowlatt Bill. However, this project from the first roused the most widespread opposition in native circles. When the bill came up for debate in the Indian legislative body, the Imperial Legislative Council, all the native members save one opposed it, and the bill was finally passed on strictly race lines by the votes of the English majority. By the public at large the Act was stigmatized as the "Black Cobra Bill," and wholesale protests, frequently rising to the pitch of violence, arose. On April 6th the protesters, led by Nationalists, decreed a "Humiliation Day," when great mass meetings, strikes and seditious speeches were much in evidence. Thenceforth an epidemic of rioting and violence swept the chief cities of India. Individual Englishmen were murdered, troops fired into riotous mobs, and aeroplanes bombed seditious gatherings with heavy loss of life. The authorities proved themselves capable of handling open disorder, but the situation held grave possibilities for the future, especially as multitudes of Indians, including many prominent Nationalists, took a "passive resistance" oath, vowing to refuse recognition of the new legislation and declaring themselves not bound by the law's commands.

TROUBLE WITH AFGHANISTAN

The spring of 1919 also witnessed fresh complications on India's northwestern frontier. Beyond this frontier lies the independent state of Afghanistan, a land of savage mountains, inhabited by an equally savage people. The tremendous fighting qualities of the Afghans have been abundantly proven throughout history, and on several occasions they have made notable conquests in India, a considerable proportion of the Indian Mohammedans being of Afghan stock, the descendants of these mountain conquerors. Afghanistan has often given the British Government of India much trouble, and for the last few decades the



Indian Maharajah Carried in State

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The Native States in India proved their loyalty to Great Britain throughout the war, many of the Maharajahs or ruling princes contributing lavishly from their private fortunes. The photograph shows a state procession in which a Maharajah seated in an elaborately ornamented palanquin of carved wood gorgeously decorated with silk embroideries is being carried on the shoulders of his faithful attendants.

country has been potentially more formidable than ever before, because during the latter part of the Nineteenth Century it was ruled by an exceptionally able monarch, the famous Emir Abdurrahman Khan, under whose iron hand the country gathered unwonted strength,



Maja Vajiravudth, King of Siam

The ruler of this small country, which declared war on Germany, was born at Bangkok on January 1, 1881, and ascended the throne on October 23, 1910. The king is shown here wearing the uniform of an admiral.

since Abdurrahman sternly repressed the internecine feuds which ordinarily consumed his subjects' surplus energies and built up a national army of really respectable proportions. Some years before the European War Abdurrahman died, but he was succeeded by a capable son, Habibullah Khan, who continued in his father's footsteps and maintained Afghan power.

Fortunately for the peace of India, both Abdurrahman and his son were friendly to the English and never attempted to try their new military machine in an Indian war. This was particularly fortunate for England during the European struggle, for Habibullah resisted many a blandishment of Turkish and German agents, and refused to enter the "Jihad" or Holy War when summoned to do so by Turkey in 1914. How serious such action would have been for England can be judged by the effect of the Holy War propaganda upon the wild tribes of the Northwest Frontier at the end of 1914. As already narrated earlier in this chapter, this revolt assumed such proportions that it required the services of over a third of a million Anglo-Indian troops to put it down. Now it must be remembered that Habibullah notified the tribesmen of his disapproval and aided the British in many ways. If, on the contrary, the whole fighting power of the Afghan nation had been thrown in behind the tribesmen, the situation might have become very grave indeed.

However, in February, 1919, Habibullah Khan was assassinated, and his death ushered in a period of hostility between Afghanistan and India. In fact, it was Habibullah's very friendship toward England and receptivity to European ideas which caused his death, because many, if not most, of his fanatical subjects hated everything European and longed to strike in a Holy War. The chief of the malcontents was Habibullah's own brother, Nasrullah Khan, long known for his fanaticism and hatred of England. Nasrullah soon gained over one of the Amir's sons, Aminullah Khan. Between them they hatched the murder plot, and the Amir was killed while on a hunting expedition.

A ROYAL GOLFER'S UNDOING

The circumstances of the affair reveal a most extraordinary mixture of East and West. To begin with, the doomed Amir left for his hunting trip in a motor car, the news of the assassination was sent back to the capital by telephone, and the body was buried on—the royal golf course! In fact, golf may have been one of the causes of Habibullah's undoing. The late Amir had for some years been



In Northern Egypt; Here the British Fought the Turks

an enthusiastic golfer. Like most devotees of the Royal and Ancient Game, he desired to fire others with his enthusiasm, and since he was not merely a golfer but also a despotic Oriental monarch, he insisted on his courtiers playing it too. The courtiers had, of course, to play, but they all hated the game like poison, and they took advantage of the Amir's death to banish the detested sport by burying Habibullah's body on the links. This rendered the playing of golf henceforth impossible, since the very thought of using the late Amir's burial mound as a bunker would have been the grossest sacrilege.

A NEW AFGHAN WAR

Nasrullah Khan had hoped to make himself Amir in his brother's stead, but the assembled nobles decided that Aminullah should succeed to his father's throne. However, so far

as Afghan foreign policy was concerned, that made little difference, since both the arch-plotters were there of the same mind. One of the young Amir's first acts was to despatch a mission to the Bolshevik government of Russia—an act contrary to the treaties between Afghanistan and the British Indian Government, which stipulated that Afghanistan should not enter into diplomatic relations with any foreign Power except Great Britain. Soon after this first defiance, border tribesmen, assisted by Afghan regular troops, began raiding the Indian Northwest Frontier, and a sharp border war was soon in progress. The British authorities, freed from the strain of the European struggle, of course found no difficulty in handling the Afghan incursions, but the reaction of this external war upon the troubled internal situation gave the British authorities in India some cause for fresh anxiety.

"NARPOO" AND "BLIGHTY"

There were many comments during the war on the "French slang" which was adopted by the British Army in France; and two words thus commented on were "narpoo" and "Blighty," the latter an oddly unattractive name for England. Now, while "narpoo" has some claim to a French origin, (as has, by the way, the better half of the English tongue,) being a corruption of the French phrase "Il n'y a plus," "there is no more of it," the second word is no more French than it is Choctaw. It is, indeed, a fairly good phonetic rendering of a Persian word, well known to all Anglo-Indians, and due, not to the presence of British armies in France, but to their presence in India, which is largely tintured with Persian speech, the word Hindu, for example, being Persian. "Belait" is Persian for "a foreign land," and is used by Anglo-Indians for the distant land which they call home. It has a genitive or adjective form, "Belaiti," "of the foreign land," used in "Belaiti-pani," which means "soda water." Tommy Atkins, very incurious of Persian orthography, turned Belaiti into Blighty, but it still means the land which he calls home.

LILLE, LAON, AND ST. DIÉ

By John Finley

I.

Lille, Laon and St. Dié!

What memories, from far away
 When happy France was wont to be
 Weaving her peaceful tapestry
 And singing by her clacking loom
 Amid her gardens all a-bloom—
 What memories, from far away
 Of France's joyous yesterday
 Rise through the dimming mists of years
 The smoke of battle and the tears
 Of those who daily look across
 The furrowed, crimsoned fields of loss
 Ploughed all the trenched and barbed way
From Lille to Laon and St. Dié.

II.

Lille!

Long, long ago I was in Lille;—
 E'en then a veil did half conceal
 Her face, but not the fleecy rack
 Of clouds upon the shrieking track
 Of shell and shrapnel bearing death;
 It was the sweet sea-vapor's breath
 Encircling her as if in fear
 I'd see the living Tête de Cire
 And ne'er contented be elsewhere
 In this then peaceful world. 'Twas there
 They made for me a regal feast;
 But now we here who have the least
 Have more than they who had the most
 And played so gallantly the host;—
 And so, as my own prayer is said:
 "Give us this day our daily bread,"
 For those who hunger, too, I pray
In Lille and Laon and St. Dié.

III.

Laon!

I climbed to Laon above the plain
 Where now the Teuton battle-stain
 Colors the crag, to find the spot
 Where he was born who left his lot
 Of luxury to bear Christ's name
 To savages that fought with dart
 And tomahawk, but knew no art
 To match the red atrocity

That now holds Laon, in blasphemy
 Of that same Father of us all.
 Would Père Marquette would come and call
 These heathen to repentance ere
 The *strafe* and *krieg* and ans'ring *guerre*
 Shall make the whole wide world a hell!—
 But if he cannot, we who dwell
 In this free land whose mightiest flood
 He found, will give our mingled blood
 To wash that brutish stain away
From Lille and Laon and St. Dié.

IV.

And St. Dié!

Dear is this village of the Vosges
 List'ning afar the Marne's *éloge*
 And to herself repeating o'er
 The word she whisp'ring spoke before
 All others in the world—a word
 That all the planet since has heard—
 "America!" Here was the spring
 Of our loved country's christening
 Here in this cloistered scholars' haunt
 Was our New World baptismal font
 Now scarred and blackened by the guns
 Of Europe's scientific Huns.
 America, from that same bowl
 Thoult' be baptized anew in soul;
 But not by water, by the fire
 Of thine own sacrosanct desire
 For right, flashing in carmine spray
From Lille to Laon and St. Dié.

V.

Lille, Laon, and St. Dié!

Our battle front, as theirs to-day
 Who fight for France, all unafraid
 Of death, weary but undismayed,
 To help push back the green-gray line
 That it may never leave the Rhine
 Again to menace all the good
 Of long-dreamed human brotherhood.
 Here shall our France-befriended land
 Take now its sacrificial stand;
 Fight for a free humanity,
 Conquer this *welt* insanity
 And our great debt to France repay
At Lille and Laon and St. Dié.

THE LION OF FLANDERS AT BAY

Through the German Inferno Belgium Passes, Stricken but Glorified,
to Victory

IN UNION LIES STRENGTH

THE world has probably never witnessed a more striking exhibition of the moral power of national sentiment roused in a righteous cause than Belgium's resistance to the German deluge in 1914. It is not surprising that the German General Staff counted on passing through Belgium with at most a perfunctory resistance, because for several years previous to the European War, Belgium was torn by domestic discords apparently threatening its very existence. Those two dissimilar nationalities, the Flemings and the Walloons, which make up Belgium's population, were engaged in a bitter controversy, while social and religious questions also produced sharp cleavages in public opinion. On the very eve of the war patriotic Belgians were viewing their country's future with frank apprehension.

But the German ultimatum dispelled these phantoms like the mirage of the desert and welded the Belgian people into a compact unit, quivering with patriotic enthusiasm and determined on resistance to the death. The national motto: "In Union lies Strength," was shouted from every Belgian throat, and King Albert voiced the mind of his people when he said: "A nation which defends itself commands the respect of all. Such a nation cannot perish." The almost miraculous "sacred union" which then welded the Belgian people in the face of the foe was eloquently portrayed in Cardinal Mercier's famous pastoral letter, which brought down upon its author prolonged imprisonment at the hands of the angry Germans. "Is there a patriot," asked the Cardinal, "who feels that Belgium has not become greater? Which of us would have the courage to do so, even if he could tear out this latest page of our history? Which of us does not look with pride on the outshin-

ing of glory on our desolate land? We had need—let us confess it—of a lesson in patriotism. Belgians in large numbers were using up their strength and squandering their time in barren quarrels of class and race and personal passion. But when, on August 2d, a foreign Power, confident in its strength and forgetful of the faith of treaties, dared to threaten our independence, all Belgians, without distinction of party, condition, origin, rose



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Brand Whitlock

The Ambassador of the United States to Belgium during the war.

as a single man, linked by the side of King and Government, to say to the invader, 'You shall not'! Of a sudden there came to us a resolute consciousness of patriotism—the sentiment that is in us all, deeper than personal interest, beyond ties of kinship and the claims of party—the determination to devote ourselves to the general interest, to what Rome called *res publica*—the sentiment of patriotism."

THE GERMAN TERROR IN BELGIUM

The Belgian people had need of all its righteous fortitude, for it was destined to undergo more than four years of misery and woe. Even had the Germans been the most humane of conquerors, the military overrunning of a densely peopled, industrial country like Belgium must have inflicted enormous loss and suffering. But, as a matter of fact, the German occupation was brutal in the extreme. Infuriated by the unexpected Belgian resistance which had upset all their military calculations, the Germans vented their rage upon the civilian population. The German military text-books had long upheld the use of systematic terror to break the spirit of conquered people, and the German Army showed how well it had learned its lesson. The methodical destruction of the city of Louvain, with its famous cathedral, its renowned university, and its priceless library, was only the most flagrant of a multitude of similar acts, while the barbarities inflicted upon persons equaled in enormity the wanton destruction of property. Perhaps the best characterization of these acts is the conclusion of the famous Bryce Report on German atrocities in Belgium which states that it is proved:

"That there were in many parts of Belgium deliberate and systematically organized massacres of the civil population, accompanied by many isolated murders and other outrages";

"That in the conduct of the war generally innocent civilians, both men and women, were murdered in large numbers, women violated, and children murdered";

"That looting, house-burning, and the wanton destruction of property were ordered and countenanced by the officers of the German Army, that elaborate provision had been made

for systematic incendiarism at the very outbreak of the war, and that the burning and destruction frequently took place where no military necessity could be alleged, being, indeed, part of a system of general terrorization";

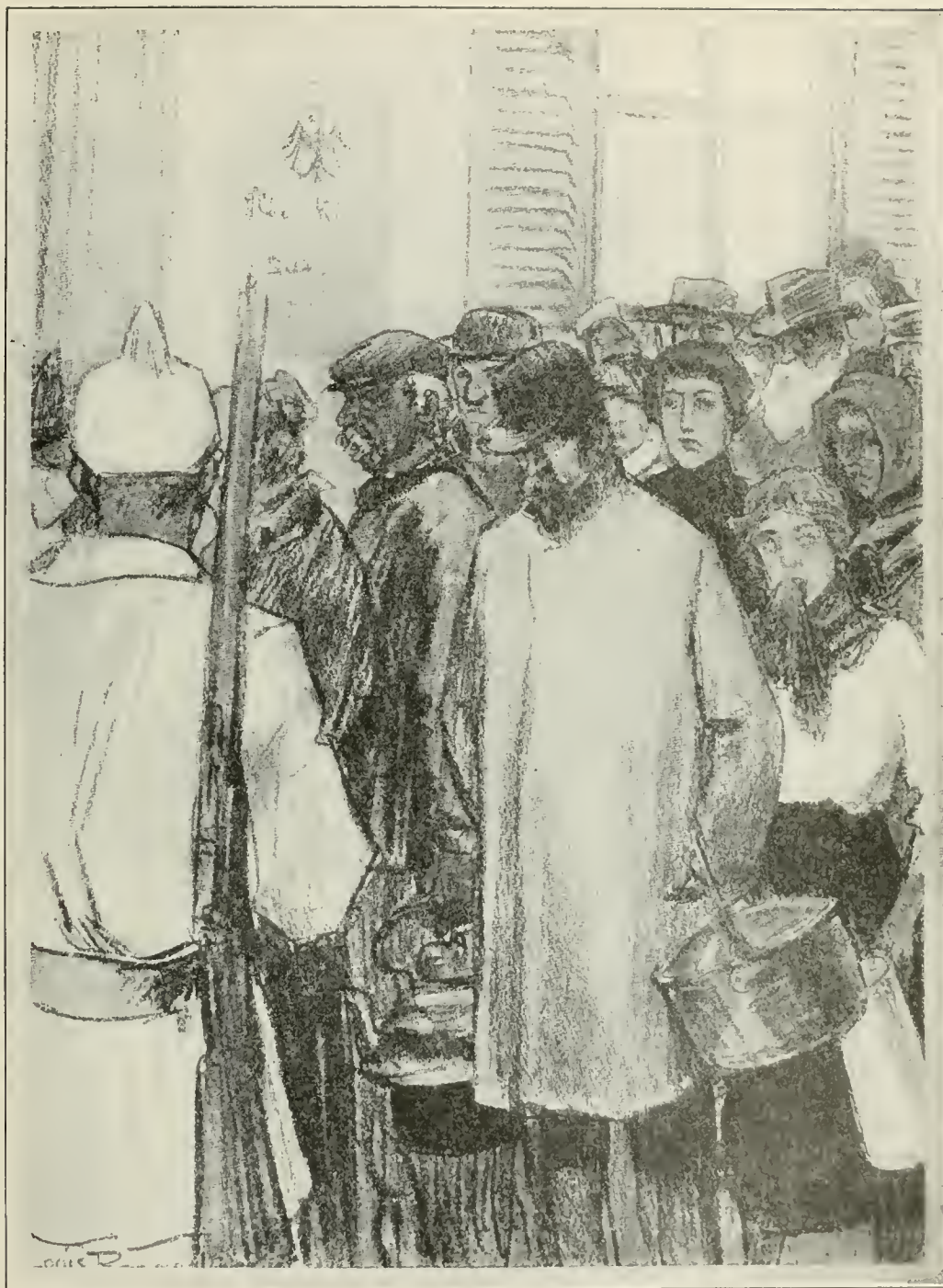
"That the rules and usages of war were frequently broken, particularly by the using of civilians, including women and children, as a shield for advancing forces exposed to fire, to a less degree by killing the wounded and prisoners, and in the frequent abuse of the Red Cross and the white flag";

"That murder, lust, and pillage prevailed over many parts of Belgium on a scale unparalleled in any war between civilized nations during the last three centuries."

While this orgy of bloodshed and destruction ceased with the completion of the country's subjugation, throughout its tenure of office the German Occupation Government displayed the same harshness of spirit, visiting the slightest acts of insubordination with terrible severity. Belgium was systematically drained of everything for Germany's benefit, and the wretched population was saved from downright starvation only by the charity of the outer world, notably by America. Belgium was, in fact, a huge prison-house, whence its despairing inmates tried continually to escape by the one possible exit—the Dutch frontier, heavily guarded though this was, fenced in by high-voltage electric wires, and brilliantly illuminated by searchlights at nights. During the first weeks of the war, when escape was still easy, fully 500,000 refugees fled into Holland, 200,000 escaped overseas to England, and another 100,000 sought refuge in France.

WHOLESALE DEPORTATIONS

To describe in detail Belgium's woes under the German yoke would be as depressing as profitless, since the story is burned too deeply into the world's recollection to need minute retelling. The one striking innovation in German methods was the wholesale deportation of Belgian civilians to Germany, whither they were sent to repair the gaps in German labor caused by the wastage of war. These deportations aroused indignant protests, not only from Allied countries but



"Prosperity Reigns in Flanders"

Drawn by Louis Raemaekers

© Land and Water.

from neutral nations as well. They were generally characterized as slavery. An official memorandum of the exiled Belgian Government, presented to the neutral Powers in 1917, thus describes the plight of the deported: "Compelled in spite of themselves to undertake heavy toil and to work outdoors during the severest season of the year, without having been trained or hardened; exposed

wholesale carrying away of men from Belgium. I know of no case in European history to surpass it. Not even in the 'Thirty Years' War were there such things as the German Government has done, first and last, in Belgium. This last case is virtual slavery. The act is like that of those Arab slave raiders in Africa who carried off negroes to the coast to sell."



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Deporting Belgian Women into Germany

No act of the Germans during the war so aroused the rest of the world, belligerent and neutral, as this cruel separation of Belgian families perpetrated in 1917.

to artillery fire; deprived of proper clothing and scarcely nourished; a multitude of these unfortunates soon fall from exhaustion and from sickness. The sick and dying who can still be transported are sent home, with less regard than slaves received in antiquity from their masters, who were interested in the care of human chattels who formed a part of their riches. Through the pitiable convoys of these repatriated Belgians there has been revealed the life which their compatriots lead who are behind at work. There is only one word that can describe it—it is hell!"

Lord Bryce stated some months earlier: "Nothing could be more shocking than this

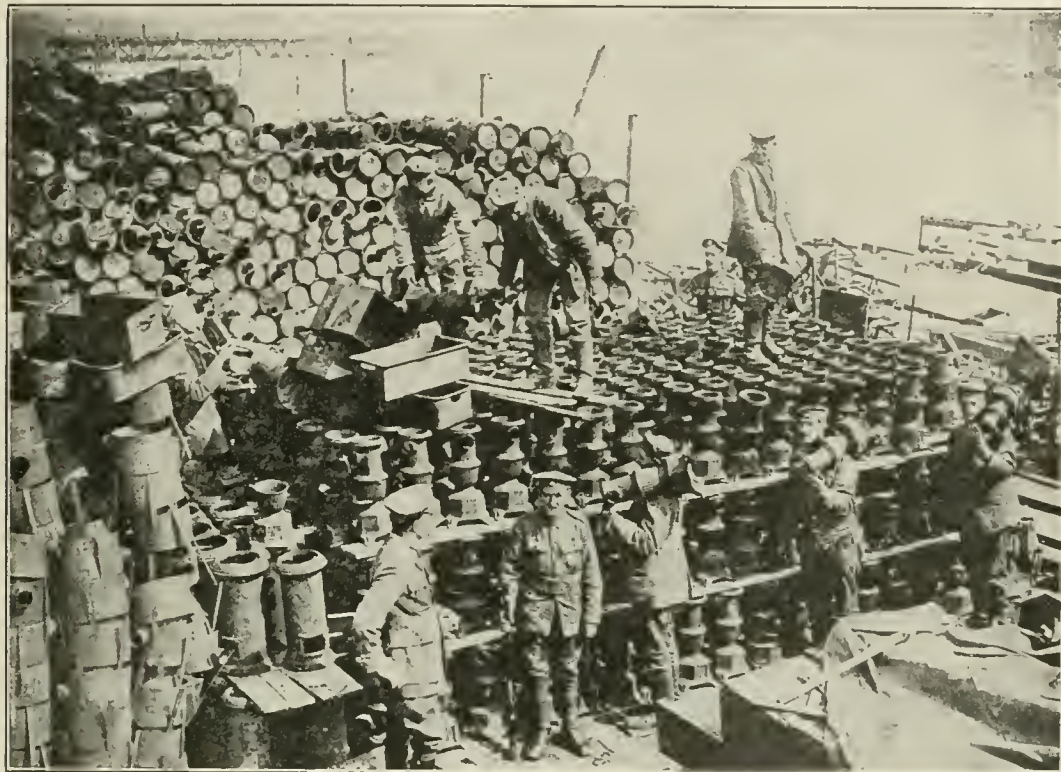
THE FLEMISH "ACTIVIST" INTRIGUE

While the German military authorities were thus treating the Belgian people with merciless severity, the German Propaganda Bureau was endeavoring to sow dissension in its ranks by stirring up race antagonism between the two Belgian races, the Walloons and the Flemings. I have already mentioned how intense this antagonism had been in the years preceding the war. The Germans now attempted to use this to rivet their domination upon the country. The Flemings, being of Teutonic extraction and speaking a language practically identical with Dutch, seemed

to many Germans to be possible instruments for the permanent subjugation of the French-speaking Walloon element. Accordingly, the Germans began to favor the Flemings, giving them concessions like a Flemish University at Ghent which the Walloons had always blocked in the past, and offering to erect Flanders into an autonomous State—under German protection. These German intrigues,

THE LIFTING OF THE YOKE

That hour finally came. The collapse of the German armies in Northern France at the close of 1918 involved the precipitate evacuation of Belgium. Almost overnight the German hosts disappeared and the heroic Belgian Army, with King Albert at its head, came back to its own. The enthusiasm of the liber-



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A Few of Fritz's Choice Possessions

Thousands of German trench stoves stacked up at the Isobel Brunel Dump near Namur, Belgium, by German prisoners under the direction of British soldiers.

however, were a flat failure. The Flemings might have their grudges against the Walloons, but they had no intention of becoming the catspaws of German policy. Such conscious racial affinities as they possessed were not with the Germans but with their neighbors, the Dutch. A few extreme Walloon-haters may have listened to German propaganda, but the great mass of the Flemish people proclaimed their loyalty to their exiled King and Government, and awaited impatiently the hour of deliverance.

ated people was indescribable, and on November 22d, King Albert reentered Brussels and there delivered a memorable address promising the removal of old grievances and urging a continuation of the sacred union which had prevailed through the terrible war-years. His announcement that Belgium would thenceforth be a fully sovereign state, released from the international neutrality agreements that had hitherto fettered her liberty of action, was greeted with especial applause. Of course the hour of liberation found Belgium the mere



Hugh Gibson

Secretary of the United States Legation at Brussels, who aided Brand Whitlock in helping stricken Belgium while that country remained under the Prussian régime.

wreck of her former self, her entire economic life shattered and her population devitalized by privation and prolonged suffering. Nevertheless, Belgium has been assured reparation by Germany in so far as this is humanly possible, so she can look forward to important assets in restoring the shattered balance of her national life. The chief internal problem is the surmounting of the critical transition period. So profound is the paralysis induced by four years of isolation under alien tyranny, so widespread is unemployment, so demoralized the working habits of the people, that great skill is necessary to start the country on its normal course once more.

ANNEXATION CLAIMS

I have already stated that Belgium was assured from the first that the Versailles Peace Conference would free her from the limitations upon her sovereignty imposed by the treaty arrangements between the years 1831 and 1839 which established Belgium as an independent State. This was very heartening to the Belgians, but it did not fully satisfy their aspirations. Alongside this improvement of their status under international law, they further desired a series of frontier rectifications such as, in their opinion, would enable them to maintain their sovereignty against external perils. These extensions of territory embraced some slight acquisitions of German soil to the east, the incorporation of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg to the southeast, and the annexation of Dutch Flanders and Dutch Limburg to the north.

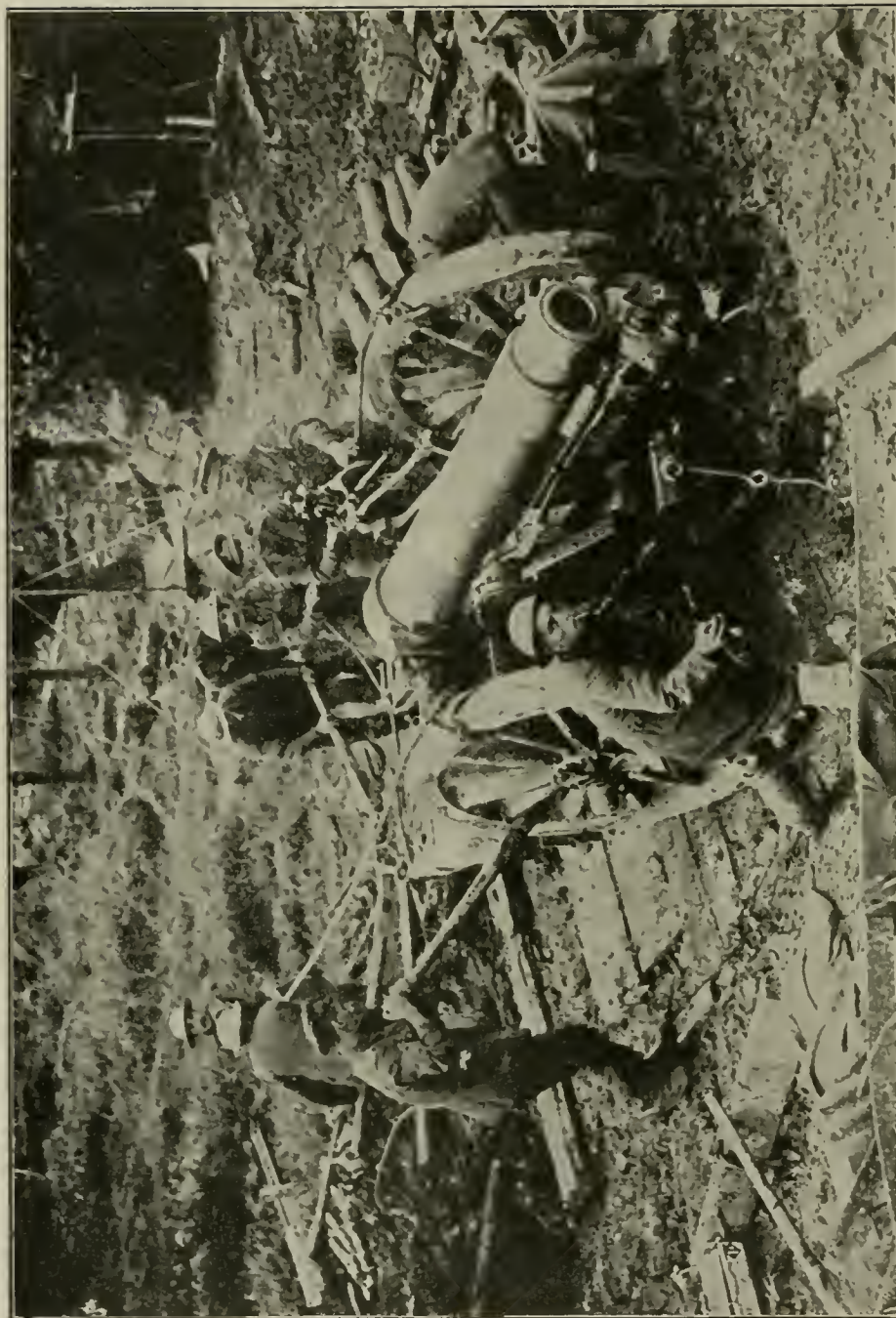
Belgium's territorial aspirations toward Germany need but a brief mention. Just over the Belgo-German frontier as it stood in 1914 were some French-speaking districts inhabited by people of Walloon blood. These districts amounted to only a few hundred square miles of rather poor land inhabited by a few thousand souls, and were devoid of either political or strategic importance. The Versailles Conference sanctioned Belgium's claims against Germany by providing in the peace treaty that Germany should cede the frontier districts of Moresnet, Eupen and Malmédy, though it was provided that the inhabitants of these districts should be entitled within six months to protest against the

change of sovereignty either in whole or in part, the final decision of the question being reserved to the League of Nations. Belgium's claims on Luxemburg are discussed in the chapter devoted to that small but interesting little principality.

THE QUESTION OF THE SCHELDT

The Belgian claims of most importance both intrinsically and for the world at large were those against Holland. As already stated, these claims were two-fold: one against Dutch Flanders and the lower Scheldt; the other against Dutch Limburg. The Scheldt claim, being the more important, merits primary consideration.

The broad river Scheldt winds its way through western Belgium and finally empties into the North Sea as a wide estuary studded with islands. Some distance inland above this estuary, but with water deep enough to float the largest ocean steamships, lies the great port of Antwerp. Antwerp is marked out by nature as the sea-gate to the whole Belgian area, and in 1914 it was both Belgium's chief port and fortress. But the mouth of the Scheldt is entirely Dutch territory. Therefore, although the Scheldt has long been free to merchant shipping, warships cannot freely pass from the sea to Antwerp. In the chapter on Holland I have shown how this facilitated the German capture of Antwerp. It is not strange that restored Belgium should have demanded the opening of the Scheldt to war-craft as one of the indispensable bases of her future security. The difficulty was that, under existing international law, the only way this could be effected was by making Belgium co-owner of the mouth of the river, and this in turn involved annexation by Belgium of the south bank of the Scheldt to the sea—in other words, the annexation of Dutch Flanders. But this naturally roused indignant protests from Holland, which asserted that it would never cede a province which had been Dutch for over three hundred years and which was inhabited by a population absolutely Dutch in blood, language, and sentiment. Holland stated that it was quite ready to open the Scheldt to men-of-war if this were recognized by international law so as to relieve it of any future accusation of un-neutral con-



Hauling a Big Gun into Position Near Ypres

One of the heavy British field pieces which repelled the German drive in Flanders.

duct. Such a modification of international law could be decreed either by the Versailles Conference or by the League of Nations. But the cession of Dutch Flanders Holland absolutely refused to discuss.

The Dutch were greatly incensed at this Belgian proposal. The Dutch Prime Minister, Jonkheer van Beerenbrouck, himself a Limburger, declaring roundly that Holland would not yield an inch of the disputed soil.

THE QUESTION OF DUTCH LIMBURG

The northeast corner of Belgium is enveloped by an oddly-shaped extension of Dutch territory projecting southward from the continental mass of Holland and thrusting itself for about forty miles between Belgium and Germany. This projection is known as the "Maastricht Salient," taking its name from its chief town, Maastricht, an old Dutch fortress-city situated at the salient's southern extremity. The Maastricht salient, together with the corner districts joining it to the main body of Holland, form the Dutch province of Limburg, with a dense population of nearly 400,000 souls. The Belgians claimed the Maastricht salient as necessary for the attainment of a strategically defensible frontier.

AN UNFORTUNATE EPISODE

These territorial disputes between Belgium and Holland were exceedingly regrettable. Sympathetic neighborliness of the two peoples is a needful guarantee for Western Europe's stability. The bitterness evoked by the controversy was extreme on both sides of the border, the Belgians declaring that they would never rest content until they had acquired these "necessary" rewards of their sacrifices and sufferings, the Dutch stating that if these lands were torn from them they would never forgive the Belgians and would ally themselves with Belgium's enemies on some future occasion in order to get them back again. The high spirit and tenacity of both peoples rendered these polemics no idle vapping.

GUNS OF VERDUN

By Patrick R. Chalmers

Guns of Verdun point to Metz
From the plated parapets;
Guns of Metz grin back again
O'er the fields of fair Lorraine.

Guns of Metz are long and grey,
Growling through a summer day;
Guns of Verdun, grey and long,
Boom an echo of their song.

Guns of Metz to Verdun roar,
"Sisters, you shall foot the score";
Guns of Verdun say to Metz,
"Fear not, for we pay our debts."

Guns of Metz they grumble, "When?"
Guns of Verdun answer then,
"Sisters, when to guard Lorraine
Gunnery lay you East again!"

From *Punch*.

THE GRAND DUCHY OF LUXEMBURG

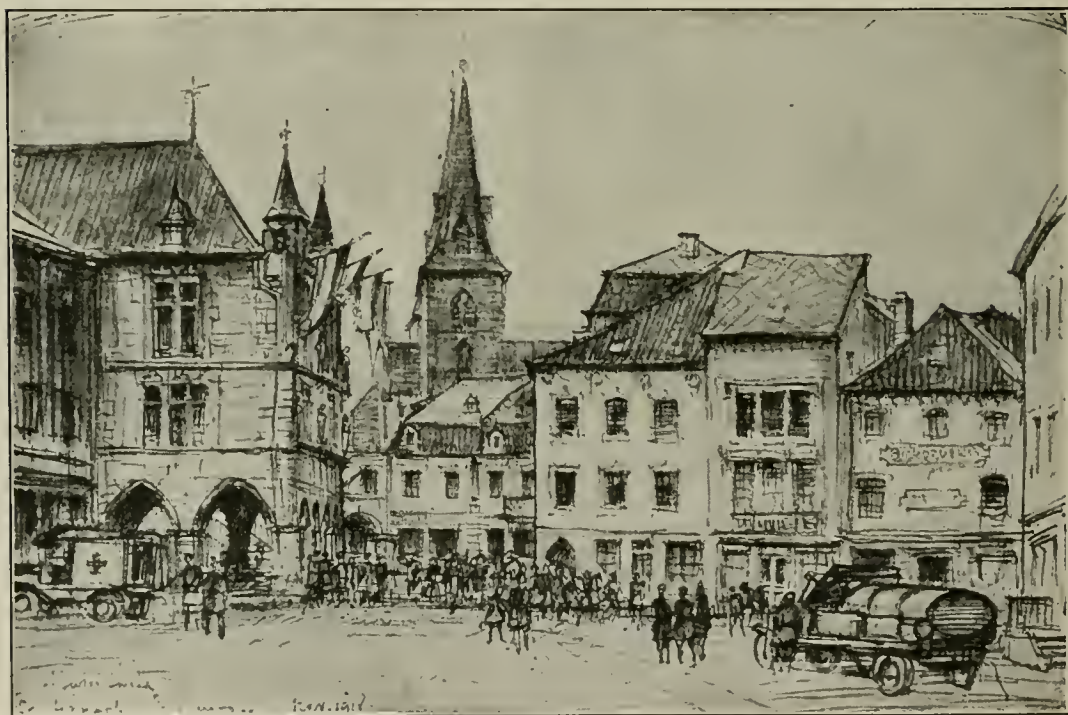
The Luxemburgers Protest Against the Apparent Pro-Germanism of Their Ruler

A QUAIN SURVIVAL

THE tiny duchy of Luxemburg is one of the political curiosities of Europe, a quaint relic of the Medieval world surviving in a more prosaic age. Lying at the junction of Germany, France, and Belgium, it was long preserved inviolate by the mutual jealousies of its mighty neighbors, neutralized under the collective guarantee of the European Powers. With its attractive, unmarried young Grand-Duchess and her bevy of pretty sisters, its miniature army in lincoln-green uniforms, its cosy, old-world towns and its snug, thrifty villages, the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg seemed more like a setting of a light-opera or an An-

thony Hope novel than a mundane reality.

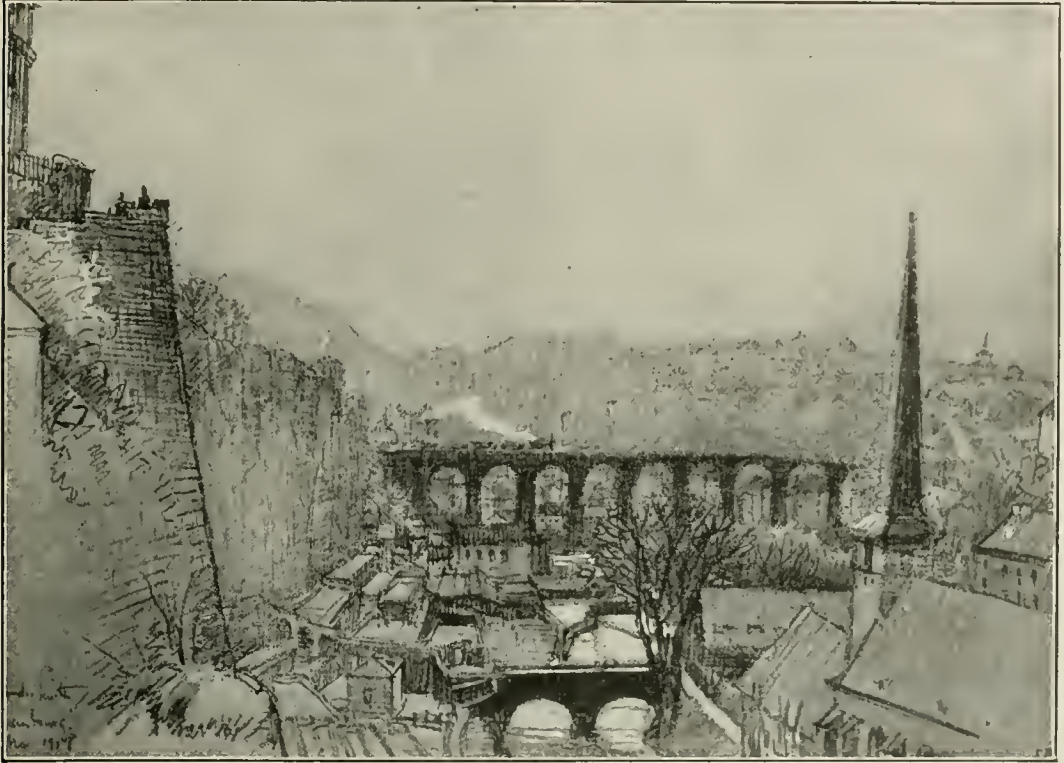
As a matter of fact, however, Luxemburg is a most desirable bit of territory from the practical as well as the romantic point of view. Not only is its strategic value considerable, but its fertile soil is underlaid by rich iron deposits increasingly worked of recent years. Before the war Germany had obtained a predominant interest in the country. Though politically independent, Luxemburg lay within the German *Zollverein*, or customs-union. For this reason most of its trade was with Germany, the bulk of its iron-mines being under German control. Germany looked upon Luxemburg as a ripe fruit ready to fall into the Teutonic lap. The Luxemburgers



The Square in Echternach, Luxemburg

themselves were extremely jealous of their parochial freedom and fearful of their mighty eastern neighbor. Nevertheless, they were insensibly drawn into the German orbit, not merely by economic ties but also by the fact that they were mostly of Germanic blood and speech, the native tongue being a quaint German patois, albeit most of the educated folk spoke French. Luxemburg was, indeed, a

burgher guard numbering only a few hundred men. The Grand Duchess and her Ministers made a dignified protest, and then submitted, while the German columns poured on into the west. The result was that Luxemburg's political existence was nominally respected by the conqueror, the forms of independence still being preserved. The "army" continued to mount guard over the Ducal palace with a



A View of the City of Luxemburg

borderland where Teutonic and Latin influences met and blended in the oddest fashion.

THE GERMAN OCCUPATION

Into this old-world back-water came pouring the field-grey Teutonic flood in the summer heat of 1914. Luxemburg was in fact invaded before Belgium, this violation of her neutrality being a prelude to the more notorious Belgian "scrap of paper." Unlike Belgium, Luxemburg made no attempt at armed resistance. To do so would, indeed, have been the veriest madness, the green-clad

brave show of fixed bayonets, the German military commanders made formal excuses to the Grand Ducal authorities, and an indemnity was tendered for damages to crops and property inflicted by the passing German hosts. Of course the real conduct of affairs was in German hands.

The sympathies of the Luxemburgers were never in doubt from the first. Even before the war they had been fearful of their German neighbors; now their resentment was roused to the depths and their hearts went out to the cause of the Entente Powers. Many Luxemburgers fled the country during the

first days when escape was possible and took service with the French and Belgian armies for the recovery of their violated land. Nevertheless, no overt acts of hostility against the Germans were committed, while the Grand Duchess seemed to have reconciled herself to the new situation and was presently on amicable terms with Teutonic royalty.

THE ALLIED OCCUPATION

This amenability of the Grand Duchess toward the Germans was destined to recoil upon her head when the German collapse at the close of 1918 led to a dramatic shift in Luxemburg's situation. The field-greys vanished from the scene and in their place came French *poilus* and American doughboys. Instantly the solid Luxemburgers broke into unwonted effervescence. There were hostile popular demonstrations against the Grand Duchess, culminating in her resignation in favor of a younger sister. The Luxemburg radicals even talked of a revolution and the establishment of a republic, but the French and American authorities quietly dropped a hint that such heroics were not wanted, and Luxemburg resumed its wonted calm once more.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

The ultimate status of Luxemburg has been much discussed since the close of hostilities.

It was of course obvious from the first that Germany would lose her privileged position in the Grand Duchy, and the peace treaty provides that Germany shall renounce all her various rights, shall recognize Luxemburg's exclusion from the German *Zollverein*, and shall accept in advance whatever settlement of Luxemburg the Allied Powers should ultimately decide. What that settlement shall be, however, was a much mooted point among the Allies themselves. Belgium put in a strong claim to be permitted to annex the Grand Duchy, asserting that Luxemburg was not only necessary to her strategically but that it had been so intimately connected with Belgium in the past that the historic title was imprescriptible. Many voices in France were raised in favor of annexing Luxemburg to the French Republic as a logical pendent to recovered Alsace-Lorraine. As to the people of Luxemburg themselves, sharp differences of opinion developed. All were glad to be delivered from German tutelage, but there unanimity ceased. Some Luxemburgers favored annexation to Belgium, others looked kindly at union with France. But, if the most reliable accounts do not err, the majority of the people wish to be independent, and the quaint old streets of Luxemburg town have echoed often to the Luxemburg popular song beginning with the significant line:

"We want to remain as we are!"

VIVE LA FRANCE!

By Charlotte H. Crawford

Franceline rose in the dawning gray,
And her heart would dance though she knelt
to pray,
For her man Michel had holiday
Fighting for France.

She offered her prayer by the cradle-side,
And with baby palms folded in hers she
cried:
"If I have but one prayer, dear, crucified
Christ—save France!"

"But if I have two, then, by Mary's grace,
Carry me safe to the meeting-place,
Let me look once again on my dear love's
face,
Save him for France!"

She crooned to her boy: "Oh, how glad he'll
be,
Little three-months old, to set eyes on thee!
For, 'Rather than gold, would I give,' wrote
he,
'A son to France.'

"Come, now, be good, little stray *sauterelle*,
For we're going by-by to thy papa Michel,
But I'll not say where for fear thou wilt tell,
Little pigeon of France!"

"Six days' leave and a year between!
But what would you have? In six days clean,
Heaven was made," said Franceline,
"Heaven and France."

She came to the town of the nameless name,
To the marching troops in the street she
came,
And she held high her boy like a taper flame
Burning for France.

Fresh from the trenches and gray with
grime,
Silent they march like a pantomime;
"But what need of music? My heart beats
time—
Vive la France!"

His regiment comes. Oh, then where is he?
"There is dust in my eyes, for I cannot see,—
Is that my Michel to the right of thee,
Soldier of France?"

Then out of the ranks a comrade fell,—
"Yesterday—'t was a splinter of shell—
And he whispered thy name, did thy poor
Michel,
Dying for France."

The tread of the troops on the pavement
throbbed
Like a woman's heart of its last joy
robbed,
As she lifted her boy to the flag and
sobbed,
"Vive la France!"

From *Scribner's Magazine*.

FRANCE THE CHAMPION OF LIBERTY

Through Four Years of Awful Sacrifice, France Points the Way to the
Final Great Victory

IN no country did the war arouse as much feeling as in France. The bitter memory of 1870, with its loss of Alsace-Lorraine, was but one reason for patriotic fervor. What was more important was that France, as well as Belgium, was invaded by the swift and merciless German Armies. This invasion was regarded by Frenchmen as a brutal attempt to dominate Europe and crush France into lasting insignificance. It aroused the deep patriotism of the people to a peculiarly high pitch of exaltation and all rose to defend the imperiled *Patrie*. Excited crowds cheered in the streets of Paris and other cities. The pressure of public opinion and governmental authority immediately quelled all anti-patriotic disturbances. The police quickly broke up a trade-unionist demonstration. A fanatic patriot shot Jean Jaurès, the leader of the Socialist and anti-militarist forces, and put a powerful and possible opponent of the war out of the way. And in this frenzy of determination and patriotism France rushed into the greatest struggle of her history.

THE JUBILANT DAYS

The quick thrust of the French Armies into Alsace during the opening days of the war evoked a deep delirium of joy. The spirit of

the nation was mirrored in the proclamation of General Joffre to the inhabitants of the invaded province: "Children of Alsace! After forty-four years of dolorous waiting, French soldiers again tread the soil of your noble land. They are the first laborers in the noble work of the revenge! For them, what emotion! what pride! To carry through this work they offer their lives; the French nation is behind them to a man, and in the folds of their battle flags are inscribed the magic words of Right and Liberty, *Vive l'Alsace! Vive la France!* Maurice Barrès, the eminent French writer, President of the League of Patriots, exclaimed: "At last it dawns! The day hoped for during forty-four years! The red trousers appear on the crest of the Vosges, and our soldiers reconquer Alsace distracted with joy!" From the moment on August 1, 1914, when in every village the public crier rolled his drum and proclaimed: "*La Patrie est en danger!*" (The Fatherland is in danger!) France became one great army, dignified and determined, and at first delirious, jubilant, and exhilarated.

THE FIRST DARK DAYS

But this happy mood was of short duration. The brilliant sunrise was soon overcast by



French War Poster: "We'll Get Them"

clouds. The mighty German tide crashed remorselessly through Belgium and surged almost to the walls of Paris. The losses of the French were enormous. Bravely fighting, but pressed back by tremendous hordes of the enemy who were backed by armored cars and superior machine guns, the French and their allies fell back. Flanders and Artois were swept by the cavalry and the advance guard

of the enemy. France stood firm. But all knew that the country must be reorganized or all would be lost. Some faint-hearted politicians were ready for a separate peace, but the watch-word throughout France was "*Il faut tenir!*" (Hold out!) When Paris learned of the defeat of the Army a deep pessimism shook the city. General Joffre complained that his plans were thwarted by the

War Ministry. Premier Viviani quickly perceived the crisis. Discarding all politics he broke up the whole Ministry and on August 27th reorganized it completely. It included the leaders of all parties, Delcassé as Foreign Minister, and even Jules Guesde, a Marxian Socialist. To calm the fears of the people the new Ministry issued a proclamation about the retreat: "A conflict is in progress which, though of supreme importance, is not decisive. Whatever the issue, the struggle will continue. France is not the easy prey imagined by the insolence of the enemy." Backed by the new government, General Joffre exhibited an almost superhuman energy against the enemy. It was a fight to hold out until France was in a position to strike back. But despite all the heroic efforts of the French, the invaders rushed on furiously. Paris was threatened. The railways were choked. The great stations were loaded—overloaded—with traffic. Paris and its suburbs were in danger of being cut off from sufficient food. It was being flooded by fugitives from Belgium and the invaded French districts who were fleeing before the terrible atrocities of the invaders. In such danger was Paris that the government seriously considered declaring Paris an open town and making a stand farther back. This idea the new Ministry abandoned; and formidable outworks were improvised and thrown in advance of the forts of the first line of defense. Steps were taken systematically to clear the city of noncombatants. The roads radiating from the capital swarmed with motor cars carrying wealthy families to seaside resorts on the Channel or the Atlantic. On September 2d the government left for Bordeaux in the face of the onrushing foe. The next day the people of Paris were informed laconically by General Galliéni, governor of the city, that he would do his duty to the end.

THE TURNING OF THE TIDE

But this extreme measure never had to be taken. At the very moment when the people of Paris expected to see the German hordes rushing into the city, pillaging and massacring as they had done elsewhere, the great battle of the Marne was being fought out. On the evening of September 5th General Joffre issued his famous Order of the Day:

"A body of troops which cannot advance must at all costs keep the ground it has acquired, and be shot down where it stands rather than retreat." The French were ready in their extreme peril to die for the safety of their capital. The next day the battle burst out all along the line, and after five days of furious fighting, Joffre was able to announce that the battle of the Marne was won. Paris was



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Searchlights of Paris Looking for Enemy

saved. The rest of September saw the French hurling the Germans still further back in the battle of the Aisne.

THE SHATTERING OF RHEIMS CATHEDRAL

It was in the last-named titanic struggle that the Germans, infuriated by the successful resistance of their opponents, bombarded Rheims Cathedral, and raised to an almost incredible pitch the passionate hatred of French for the "Boche." From the very beginning of the war this anger was intense. So gentle a man as the philosopher Bergson exclaimed: "The struggle against Germany which is now going on is no more or less than a struggle of civilization against barbarism. . . ." This feeling was universal in France and was enhanced by the desolation and death which the Germans sowed behind them in their cruel invasion. The official publication of atrocities began; "There never has been a war between



Poster: "For France: Pay Out Your Gold"

civilized nations which has been of such a savage and ferocious nature. Pillage, rape, incendiarism, and murder are the practices current among the enemy." When in the last week of September the Germans wrecked the Cathedral at Rheims, French horror rose to as great a height as when civilians were wantonly slaughtered. The west façade of the Cathedral was one of the architectural

wonders of the ages. Many thought it the most exquisite example of its period in existence. The magnificent rose-window was without a rival. The entire structure was wrecked. "Can such a crime be pardoned?" cried *La France*, a Paris paper. "No, a thousand times no! Let there be a holy war that shall conquer at all costs and wipe out the immoral horde of Potsdam. The glorious

chimes of Rheims will be heard no more, but Nemesis will surely come." And the *Journal des Débats* exclaimed, "After Rheims, what vengeance will not be permissible to make

"sacred union," proclaimed at the beginning of the war, was not weakened for a moment. But there was not that same dumb horror as when the guns of the enemy actually thundered



Poster: "Come to the Aid of Soldiers"

these barbarians expiate the shame of being Germans!"

THE SIEGE

By the end of 1914 the campaign had degenerated into a siege, and as the new year opened and progressed the terrible tension in France relaxed. The defense was still carried on with the fullest vigor, and the heart of the whole country was in the struggle. The

outside of Paris. The city was more at ease, though far from her old bright self. The old street busses were gone, being used by the Army. The subway trains were crowded as usual, but they were now manipulated by women or men too old or weak to fight. Martial law had prohibited street cries and the streets were less noisy. Most of all, soldiers were conspicuous; new recruits in fresh uniforms, veterans on leave, and convalescents—

mutilated, disfigured, but proud, honored reverentially by the people. A strange peace reigned throughout the capital and the country. May 1st was celebrated as a pleasant fête, but the workingmen did not suspend work. France was bleeding profusely on the field of battle, but within the walls of safety every arm was working steadily in support of the defenders. France was determined not

not in sight, the French Government urged the people to hold out and to give countenance to no peace movements.

THE GOVERNMENT CRISIS

As the Chamber continued its sessions, adjourned for awhile, and resumed them in September, it became clear from the debates that there was friction between the government and Parliament. All were aware that France was bleeding white. Her losses were enormous. Was it possible that the War Ministry was in some way responsible? What were the true facts of the case? What was really happening on the various fronts? The Socialists attacked the War Office violently and demanded a secret session of Parliament in which the members should be taken into the confidence of the government as to the true state of affairs. Viviani, then Premier, tactfully maneuvered out of the situation, and the demands of the Socialists were voted down. But toward October the government was shaken by a great crisis. Germany had attacked Serbia and the French press clamored for resistance to the Balkan allies. France and England hastened troops to Salonika, and in so doing violated Greek neutrality. On October 12th Viviani was pressed by the Chamber into making a statement on the situation. He defended the course of the government. The next day the country was astounded by the resignation of Delcassé from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Premier explained that the Minister had resigned on account of ill health and refused to give further information. Wild scenes followed in the Chamber. There were violent attacks on the government, demands for a secret session which were voted down once more amid disorder and cries from Socialists and the Extreme Right. But it soon became known that Delcassé had resigned because of the Balkan policy, and, as the Balkan policy actually failed, the government began to totter. On October 28th it was announced that a new Ministry would be formed under the Radical-Socialist Aristide Briand as Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

This new Ministry, however, was far from inspiring universal confidence, and fresh changes in it might be expected.



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Avenue Bois de Boulogne, Paris

to surrender. "The only peace which the Republic can accept," said the President of the Chamber of Deputies when it met on August 5th, "is that which shall guarantee the security of Europe, allow us to breathe, to live and to labor; which will rebuild our dismembered Fatherland, restore our ruins and effectively protect us against any aggressive renewal of German ambitions. The present generations are responsible for France to posterity, they will not allow the trust which our ancestors have given to their passing care to be profaned or lessened." Since such a peace was

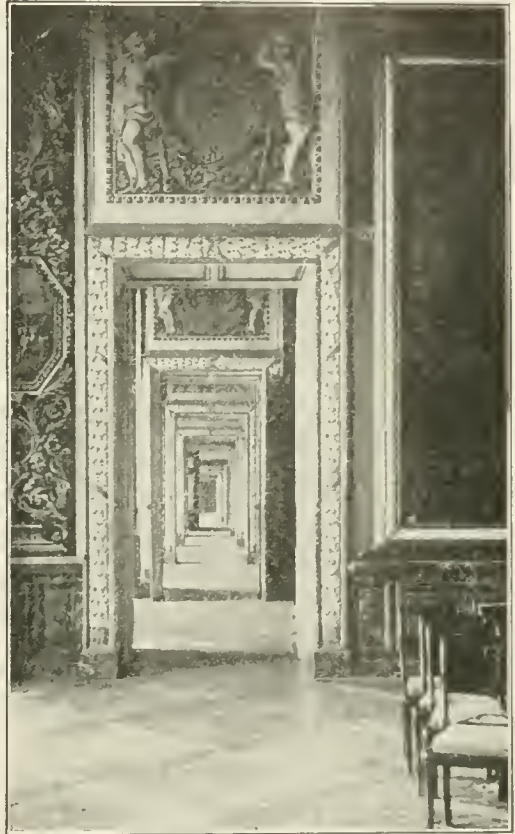
THE NEW GOVERNMENT AND THE "SACRED UNION"

The change of Ministry did not for a moment mean that France was divided or ready to slacken her efforts against the foe. The "sacred union" of all parties was emphasized by the fact that the new cabinet was composed of leaders of every party in Parliament. It was applauded by the whole country. At the same time Briand assured the country that "Victory" was still the only national object. "You do not expect a long statement," he told the Chamber in outlining the policy of his government. "We are at war. It is the time for acts. All the energies of the government must be directed toward action, clear-cut rapid decisions and prompt execution. . . . We have decided to go on to the end. Our enemies cannot reckon on either weariness or exhaustion on our side. Having taken the measure of our task, however hard it may be, we intend to pursue it to the inevitable end. We have the will to conquer. We shall conquer." This was reëchoed throughout France. The country was a unit whose unanimous motto was: *La paix par la Victoire* (Peace through Victory). The psychology of the French people at this time is astounding in its unity. In all of the belligerent countries there were discordant voices. Extreme Radicals and Socialists in Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Russia, and Italy, insisted that the war was due to causes other than those alleged by their governments, and kept on calling for a peace of compromise summarized in the Russian Socialist formula: "No annexations, no indemnities, freedom for all nationalities." In France alone these pacifist and internationalist movements were practically non-existent. In foreign policy France had no Opposition. Except for a few isolated individuals like Romain Rolland, the entire nation was as one man determined to fight the war out to the bitter end.

FRANCE AT BAY

But the suffering and anguish of France were almost beyond human endurance. The year 1916 was filled with blood and sorrow. The victory of Verdun in the autumn kept the enemy from the throat of *la Patrie*, but there

were terrible losses. The country was pouring out its young men, class after class, until the very youngest possible were called to the colors. The fields were left to the women. Street cars, trains, munition factories, and other great industrial factors were largely run by women, boys, and men too old to fight. The area in which the two great armies were



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The French Presidential Election Chambers Here, in the Palace at Versailles, erected by Louis XIV, the President is inducted into office.

tossing in deadly combat was a mass of ruins. Whole villages were lying shattered in the dust, with their population gone. Often these people were taken prisoners by the Germans or had fled to other parts of France. The desolation and destruction were appalling. Thousands of children were orphaned, starving, legless, armless, or insane as a result of the horrors committed in the area of combat. In those parts where the Germans retreated they deliberately sowed ruin and destruction be-

hind them. Churches and dwellings, railway stations, statues, parks, bridges—all lay in smouldering heaps, broken and burnt.

THE PEACE MOVEMENT

It is no wonder that under such circumstances the peace proposals made by Germany



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Cathedral Tower, Malines

in December of 1916 should find some response among the more extreme radicals in France. For the most part these proposals were met with skepticism and derision. Premier Briand referred to them scornfully as a sign that the enemy was weakening. He reminded the Senate that when the French people had heard of the Verdun victory they shouted, "That is the best reply." But the peace proposals did not go entirely without

response in France. The categorical refusal of the government expressed the will of the vast majority of the French people, but not of all. During the autumn a certain unrest began to develop in the Socialist party. The German peace offer added fuel to the fire. Soon this unrest flamed out into open rebellion on the part of the pacifistic group. The party was threatened with a break. Early in the autumn a very small minority of the Socialists had already begun to murmur about a peace by negotiation. During December this group grew in influence with an extraordinary rapidity. When the German note offering peace was received, some of the Socialist federations passed resolutions calling upon the Allied Governments to take all necessary steps to be informed officially of the German conditions of peace, to refuse no proposal without the most serious consideration, and to submit all proposals to their respective Parliaments. The resolutions further demanded that if the Allies found the German demands unacceptable, they should themselves offer precise counter-proposals explaining definitely upon what basis they were willing to make peace. This was the first vague prelude of an Opposition in France. The Socialists were the only ones in France who did not resent the intervention of President Wilson in the peace discussion. The rest of France was naturally surprised and somewhat offended at the President's statement that the declared aims of both sides were identical.

EXHAUSTED FRANCE

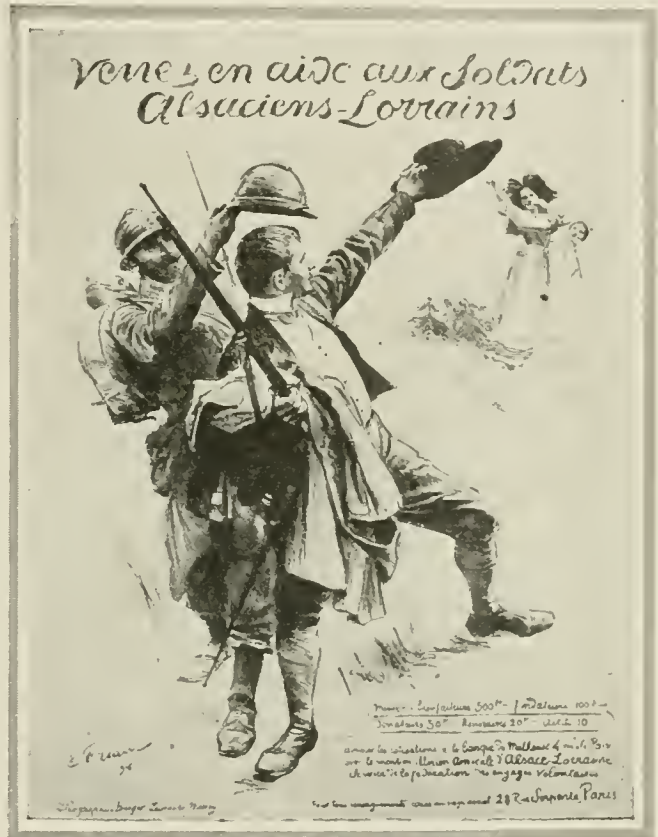
The appeals of the French Socialists and of President Wilson were beginning to make a deeper and deeper impression in some sections of the country. In the face of ruin the desire for peace grew. An Associated Press dispatch of May 2, 1917, thus describes the devastation which the Germans left behind them. "In this northeast corner of the Oise, ten per cent. of which the Germans had held since the retreat from the Marne, a farm looks like a reduced bird's-eye view of a volcanic region, in which the craters are so thick that their edges touch. A careful inspection of the rugged surface discovers traces of a little of everything that is to be found in the wake of a defeated army, buried and reburied by suc-

cessive upheavals as shell after shell gouged the earth, made new craters between old ones and gave cover to fresh wreckage. A pile of brick, stones and mortar here and there shows that the region was once inhabited; there are no other signs of a preëxisting civilization. . . . Millions of projectiles weighing hundreds of thousands of tons and costing billions of francs burst over the land within a radius of from fifteen to twenty miles on each side of the line that separated the hostile armies for upward of two and a half years."

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND FRANCE

Amidst such terror as the few lines quoted above indicate, the masses of France were not wholly unwilling to listen to the extreme groups of Socialists who were preaching a negotiated peace. In the Chamber of Deputies wild debates took place in which the government was violently attacked. As a result of the political crisis caused by the peace movement, the Briand Ministry collapsed and a new one was formed under M. Ribot. In stating his policy M. Ribot declared it was the intention of France "to recover the provinces torn from us in the past, to obtain the reparation and guarantees due to France, and to prepare a durable peace based on respects for the rights and liberty of the peoples." This meant that France was determined at all costs to have Alsace-Lorraine. But before long the Russian Revolution burst out into a tremendous flame and some of the sparks fell into France. The moderate Socialists in control under Kerensky had proclaimed as Russia's official policy "no annexations, no indemnities, free development for all nationalities." This cry was caught up by the more extreme Socialists in France. They pressed the government once more for a definite statement of war aims. At the same time the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee of the "Socialist Interna-

tional" had proposed an international peace conference of Socialists at Stockholm. Premier Ribot tried to meet the new situation by saying that to enforce the restoration of stolen provinces was no "annexation," while to impose a fine on a brutal and destructive foe is no "indemnity." But the extreme Socialists clamored for a greater approximation to Russia's aims and applauded every move of the



A French Soldier Relief Poster

Revolutionary government. It did not seem possible to unite all the different views.

THE STOCKHOLM CONFERENCE

The whole controversy was soon concentrated on the proposed Socialist conference at Stockholm. A series of strikes broke out partly as a protest against the high cost of living but also partly because of the syndicalist and international elements that were at work among the masses. A conference of the National

Council of the Socialist Party was held at the end of May to discuss the proposed Stockholm conference. After listening to a report of two Socialist deputies who had just returned from Russia, the conference decided to send delegates to Stockholm. This decision raised a storm throughout the country. Non-

gates to the Stockholm conference. But they took the opportunity of answering the questions put by the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee, which was trying to call it together. On the question of Alsace-Lorraine they voted in favor of allowing the inhabitants to vote for themselves as to their destiny.



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Frenchmen Prominent in the War

The 1913 French cabinet. The second man from the left in the back row is M. Malvy, who was forced to resign because of his connection with the "Bonnet Rouge" affair. The third man is M. Viviani, who, for a short time, was Premier. In the front row, beginning from the right, the third man, with the bald head, is M. Caillaux, who created a great scandal by alleged dealings with the enemy. The man immediately in front is M. Doumergue, who was Premier for a very brief period.

Socialists condemned the proposed conference as a ruse of the Germans. The Premier announced that he would refuse to grant the delegates passports. Nevertheless the tension of the country was such that a secret session of the Chamber was called to discuss the whole matter. After listening to the report of the same two deputies who had reported to the Socialists, the Chamber voted by a great majority in favor of reconquering Alsace-Lorraine and of supporting the government. As a result, the Socialists could not send dele-

TREASON IN FRANCE

No sooner had the furor created by the Socialists died down, than France was stirred to its uttermost depths by two discoveries of treasonable activities. The first scandal occurred under the Ribot Ministry, and was brought to light by the aggressive ex-premier, Georges Clemenceau, founder of the Radical-Socialist Party, famous as a great fighter, the "Tiger" of France, now wielding a Big Stick and urging a full victory for *la Patrie*. From

1914 to 1917 the Radical-Socialist journal, the *Bonnet Rouge*, carried on a sly anti-patriotic campaign of throwing suspicion on the government, and belittling the victories of the French soldiers at the front. As a result the masses became nervous, restless. The rumors which this journal circulated leaked out to the front and weakened the morale of the troops. In July Clemenceau suddenly rose in the Cham-

slaughts of the old "Tiger." Under the new ministry of Painlevé the Malvy affair was hotly debated in the Chamber because of the startling accusation which Léon Daudet, editor of *L'Action Française*, made in a letter to President Poincaré: "Monsieur Malvy, former Minister of the Interior, is a traitor. He has betrayed the national defense for three years."



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Statue of Strassburg Decorated on Victory Day

Crowds gathered in front of the statue of Strassburg in the Place de la Concorde on Victory Day. For nearly fifty years Paris had kept this statue draped in black because of the loss of Strassburg to Germany. Now it is decorated with flowers and flags.

ber and, after a passionate introduction in which he reminded his hearers that France is at war fighting for her existence, he let loose a flood of facts regarding the activities of the *Bonnet Rouge*. He proved that the editor of the journal, Almercyda, a drug fiend and a convicted thief, was protected by the Minister of the Interior, Malvy; that the owner of the paper, Duval, was supported by the Germans, that the whole affair was striking at the heart of France in a treasonable and insidious manner. As a result Almercyda and Duval were arrested, Malvy resigned, and soon the whole Ribot cabinet went toppling before the on-

THE CLEMENCEAU CABINET

Events soon began to clamor for a strong hand to guide France through her perilous journey to victory. The *Bonnet Rouge* affair was by no means the only indication of treason within the land. The *exposé* of the Bolo Pasha activities showed that Germany was carrying a wide and persistent campaign of poisoning the country from within. She was spending large sums of money in buying up parts of the French press. Bolo Pasha was tried and shot as a traitor, but the Painlevé Ministry was in a weak position. Because of

the espionage activities and the general weakness of the country's morale, the Right cried out for a stronger hand at the helm. On the other side, the Socialists cried out against the "annexationist" policy of the government. Caught between these two forces the Painlevé Ministry collapsed in November, and the government was at last placed in the hands of Georges Clemenceau. The "Tiger" immediately announced his policy: "There must be no more pacifist campaigns, no more German intrigues. No treason, no semi-treason. War! Nothing but war. Our armies are not going to be caught between two fires. Justice is here and the country will know that it is being protected." The opening speech of the new Premier showed that he was the determined and powerful leader the country needed. It was a great personal triumph for him. The entire Chamber roared its applause, with the exception of the Socialists of the Extreme Left. These had definitely formed the Opposition.

THE CASE OF JOSEPH CAILLAUX

The year 1918 was filled with two significant political events, the alarming discoveries of treason and the opposition of the Socialists to the Clemenceau government. During the year the *Bonnet Rouge* affair came to a dramatic climax. Almereyda had strangled himself with a bootlace in prison at the very beginning of the affair. Now Duval, the owner, was found guilty by a court-martial and shot as a traitor. The ex-Minister Malvy, after a long trial full of sensational disclosures, was exiled from France for five years. The Bolo Pasha trial involved celebrities the world over. But the climax of all these treasonable affairs came with the arrest of Joseph Caillaux, a Senator, an ex-Premier, and a leader of the Radical Socialists. He was charged with endangering the safety of the State, of being in collusion with Bolo Pasha, and leading a defeatist movement. He was also accused of having planned a *coup d'état* to seize the government and make himself dictator, and of having conspired with various German agents. Because of the unusual prominence of Caillaux the affair created a tremendous stir in all countries. It became an international sensation, and it cannot be said that it reacted in favor of France.

CLEMENCEAU AND THE SOCIALISTS

Meanwhile the aggressive Premier was battling with the Opposition to fight the war through to a complete victory. The Socialists of the Extreme Left, influenced by the winds which were blowing from Bolshevik Russia, kept clamoring for a negotiated peace and attacking the government in all its actions. In his powerful replies Clemenceau voiced the real determination of France: "My maxim is that he will be victor who can believe in his victory for a quarter of an hour longer than any other, and it will be he who will survive during the last quarter. . . . My formula is the same everywhere. Home policy? I make war. Foreign policy? I make war. Russia fails us? I make war. Unhappy Rumania is obliged to capitulate? I continue the war. And I will continue it to the last quarter of an hour because that quarter of an hour will be ours." This conflict between the government and the Socialists was kept up without abeyance. The Socialists wanted to know what the peace terms of the government were, what its attitude toward Russia was. Only during the great German offensive in spring were all controversial activities put aside. But all this time the rest of France was sober and determined upon victory or death. There was death on every hand. France had lost over a million men. A million more were wounded. The cities and villages were filled with women in mourning. Almost half a million peasants had been driven from their homes by the invading Germans. The arrival of American troops during 1917 and their participation in the fighting of 1918 steadied the heavy hearts of France.

THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS AND PEACE

The most significant events during 1918 up to the signing of the armistice were those which centered around the activities of the French Socialists. All the Socialist factions formed together a great and powerful party. Its internal dissensions threatened it with disruption. The conservative Socialists under Briand and Albert Thomas supported Clemenceau in his vigorous prosecution of the war. The Extreme Left under Jean Longuet, a grandson of Karl Marx, demanded an inter-

national Socialist conference and assurance of a democratic peace. The latter looked to President Wilson as the leader of the democratic forces of the world and feared lest he might find it difficult to move against imperialism unless he received all the support he could possibly obtain. It was over these matters that the French Socialists quarreled. In November they met in a great congress to decide their policy as to a conference with

France was ready to resume her life again. People danced in the street, threw confetti, expressed their energy with the lavish abandon of happy children. But soon they soberly set to business to rebuild a country which four years of savage invasion had left in ruins. There were villages to be rebuilt. There was food to be distributed to a starving population. There were wounded to be restored. There was industry to be rebuilt. There were fields



Courtesy of Red Cross Magazine.

Celebrating the Signing of the Armistice

In the great squares of Paris humanity of every age, race, and type, gathered in thousands to celebrate. Gratefulness was expressed in song, shouts and laughter, and then in a deep-felt prayer.

German Socialists. But the wild storm which was expected at this gathering never took place. The Germans had already surrendered.

FRANCE VICTORIOUS

When the news of Allied victory reached Paris the people went wild with joy. During the four years of war France had suffered more keenly than almost any other people, and the relief was correspondingly greater. The delirium in the Chamber of Deputies and in the streets reached heights of passion before unknown. The hated foe was broken and

to be resown. And there was peace to be made.

THE CLAIMS OF CLEMENCEAU

The most popular man in France at this time was Clemenceau. His vigorous prosecution of the war had invested him with the light of glory and victory when the German forces collapsed. Now he was standing to the world as the representative of one of the most intensely nationalistic and self-conscious countries in the world. He had a specific and definite idea of what France wanted, and this idea he proceeded to state in the straightfor-



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The Joan of Arc Anniversary

The Alsace-Lorraine delegation passing the altar erected in front of the Grand Opera House.

ward manner characteristic of him. In reply to a stormy attack of the Socialists he announced himself in favor of "the old system of alliances called the 'balance of power.'" It became clear that the old "Tiger" was not in complete accord with President Wilson. He was charged with that, and as usual he was honest: "I should not be telling the truth if I said I had always been in agreement with him on all points. . . . President Wilson said to me: 'I will try to convince you but perhaps you will convince me.'" The dif-

ference between the two policies which were soon to clash at the Peace Conference was even more clearly indicated when Clemenceau exclaimed in the Chamber: "America is very far from Germany, but France is very near, and I have preoccupations which do not affect President Wilson as they do a man who has seen the Germans for four years in his country. There are old wrongs to be righted." By the beginning of the new year—1919—it was openly known that France would demand an indemnity, the Sarre Valley, a neutral



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The Bourse in Paris

The great stock exchange of France.

zone on the western bank of the Rhine, and the occupation of Syria. With this determination Clemenceau and his colleagues made ready to meet the Conference of nations which was to decide the fate of the world.

THE GROWTH OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The history of the great Peace Conference, though it was held in the capital of France,

belongs to international rather than specifically French history. Of more significance in the latter respect is the swift growth of the labor movement as the Conference went on. The Opposition to the government which had been developed so rapidly by the Socialists now tried to believe themselves in full agreement with President Wilson and to sharpen their weapons against the "imperialistic" policy, as they thought it, of Premier Clemenceau. The

sudden strike of workers on the Paris transportation lines, although ostensibly for higher wages, was interpreted as a protest against government policy, and even as a possible current of Bolshevism. More important even was the decision of the *Confédération Générale du Travail*—popularly known as the C. G. T.—to enter the political arena. Hitherto this most powerful of all French labor unions was syndicalist in nature, based on principles similar to our I. W. W., and similarly inclined to violence and "direct action." But now, as the Peace Conference was under way, it began to make alliances with the Extreme Left of the Socialists and to press for a place at the Conference. They also drew up a labor program which they tried to have inserted in the international agreement. It was the C. G. T. and the Left Socialists that sent a delegation to President Wilson upon his arrival in Paris. Assuming that the President represented views which were directly opposed to those of Premier Clemenceau, the Socialists issued the following address to him on his arrival: "The workers of France hail your arrival with joy. From the first moment of your sojourn in Europe until the last you will feel that they are with you. The proclamation of your 14 points was for us a light in the darkness of slaughter." In a few days a Socialist committee greeted the President in Paris and begged him to persist with a people's peace. To this the President replied in a very tactful address that smoothed over any apparent differences of opinion which existed between himself and Premier Clemenceau.

THE SHOOTING OF CLEMENCEAU

Through the month of January the agitation of the Socialists and of the C. G. T. for a "moderate" peace continued. They demanded that Germany be treated with kindness and that the Allies should not interfere with Bolshevik Russia. As February appeared, and Clemenceau still stood out as the leader of a policy of punishment for all of Germany's crimes, some of the extreme communists and anarchists in France expressed themselves in the most violent terms against the "Tiger." One of these, a young man of twenty-five named Cottin, shot and wounded the Premier, saying that he "wished the man who was pre-

paring for another war to disappear," and added, "I am an integral anarchist, a friend of men, not excepting the Germans, and a friend of humanity and fraternity." The sight of the great leader of France stricken by a would-be assassin's bullet touched the hearts of the world to the quick. Sorrow was expressed everywhere, except among the Socialists, who reminded the world of the fate of Jean Jaurès. The entire incident showed unmistakably that among the more radical workmen there was strong opposition to the nationalistic policy of Clemenceau. The tumult and the passion exhibited in the Chamber when the Socialists announced that they condemned the attempted assassination of the Premier, the howling and the bitter epithets hurled on both sides were unmistakable evidence that the *Union Sacrée*—the sacred union of all classes of Frenchmen, which had been proclaimed at the beginning of the war—was now completely gone. France, like the rest of Europe, was once more lined up into two hostile social classes.

THE JAURÈS PARADE

In the Peace Conference France was soon once more represented by the "Tiger," who had quickly recovered. His insistent demands for a big indemnity from Germany and for the Sarre Basin and his alleged neglect of the workers' interests increased the animosity of the radical elements in France to the government. A climactic and dramatic proof of this came when the assassin of Jean Jaurès was declared free by the courts. On April 6th, immediately after the decision, a huge demonstration, organized by the C. G. T. and the Socialist party, marched through the streets of Paris in memory of the great Socialist leader. There were shouts of "Long live the Soviets!" "Down with war!" "Down with the Peace Conference." Fully 100,000 watched the procession in silence. Soon after noon every car, subway train and bus was crowded with people streaming toward the Trocadéro to take part in the procession. Tens of thousands of people walked for the same purpose. Hardly had the procession started when the "Internationale" was heard on all sides. The parade was headed by international figures like Hjalmar Branting, the Swedish

Socialist leader; Emile Vandervelde, of Belgium; and Jean Longuet, the French Socialist leader. As the crowd marched on and practically no references were made either to Jaurès or to his assassin, it became clear that the real meaning of the demonstration was to be sought in the Peace Conference.

pity, did not bear the weight and pay the debt of her crimes." The French Senate passed a resolution demanding that "full restitution will be exacted from the enemy together with reparation for damage caused to persons and property, and that the full cost of the war will be imposed on those responsible for the great-



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The Mayday Strike Riots in Paris

These occurred May 1st, 1919. French soldiers are guarding the Place de L'Opera from the rioters.

NATIONALISTIC FRANCE

But these Socialistic and international manifestations were by no means a true indication of what the majority of the French people felt. In the making of peace as in the waging of war, Clemenceau had behind him the bulk of the population. For a long while the negotiations among the Big Four were kept secret from the public, but by April things began to leak out, and the entire French press with the exception of the Socialist began to press a policy of full compensation for her losses. At the Sorbonne Barthou cried, "Derision would be too cruel and revolt too strong if Germany, the aggressor, saved by imprudent

est crime of history." Two days later 300 Deputies signed the same manifesto, and on the same day it was announced that the Sarre Valley with its rich coal mines was granted by the Council of Four to France.

THE MAY-DAY RIOTS

At the same time the anti-government and Socialistic activities continued until a bloody climax came on May Day. In expectation of a demonstration of workingmen on May Day the government lined up battalions and squadrons of infantry and cavalry. The crowd, called together by the local labor unions, gathered in the Place de la Concorde. Many of

the crowd wore the red flower of the revolution. Soon there was a forward movement and the mass broke through the cordon of soldiers. It was expected that bayonets would come into play. Instead the soldiers parted and the crowd passed through, cheering. Further on the cavalry gave resistance. Things

fering a consequence of the workers' determination to show their power and to protest against what they considered the injustice of the economic system. Paris was a mournful and gloomy city. A general strike tied up the busses, cars, subways. For two hours all electricity was cut off. Restaurants and cafés



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The Poor of Paris Getting Their Allotment of Coal

The coal crisis grew so acute in France in 1917 that the government employed old soldiers and military lorries to bring coal from Rouen and other seaports.

began to look ugly. Shots were fired. Before the day was over a number of policemen and civilians were injured. At dusk the street was choked with the débris of hats, coats, broken clubs and umbrellas. In other parts of the city matters were even more serious. In the Boulevard de Magenta a crowd of about 20,000 working men and women threw up no less than three barricades. Troops intervened. Shots were fired at the cavalry and police. The street was cleared. In the Place de la Bastille a pitched battle was fought between cavalry and policemen on one side and a mob led by a tall red-haired woman on the other. More than twenty persons were injured. The whole city was suf-

fering a consequence of the workers' determination to show their power and to protest against what they considered the injustice of the economic system. Paris was a mournful and gloomy city. A general strike tied up the busses, cars, subways. For two hours all electricity was cut off. Restaurants and cafés

PROTEST OF SOCIALISTS

The situation of labor and capital in France can not be dwelt on too much, since without doubt that is the country's greatest problem at present. The situation is considerably aggravated by the enormous power which is wielded by the French Socialists, who fill many government offices. On May 4th three of these office-holders resigned as a protest against the events of May Day. In his letter of resignation, handed in to Clemenceau, who himself was the founder of the Radical-Socialist Party, Léon Jouhaux, Secretary General of

the Federation of Labor (C. G. T.), said: "I have the honor to declare to you that from to-day's date I cease to participate in the work of the Peace Conference where I sat as a supplementary delegate. . . . Called to the Conference as the representative of the French working class, it is impossible for me to fulfill this mandate after the day (May 1st) on which your government brutally prohibited the French workers from expressing their thoughts and manifesting their aspirations. . . . By forbidding the manifestation which you knew would be perfectly peaceful, by ranging your police and Army against the workers of Paris, and by allowing an unprecedented brutality to be practiced against men and women who were only exercising an essential liberty which their comrades in all countries enjoy, you have failed to recognize the devotion and self-denial which this working class displayed, during the war."

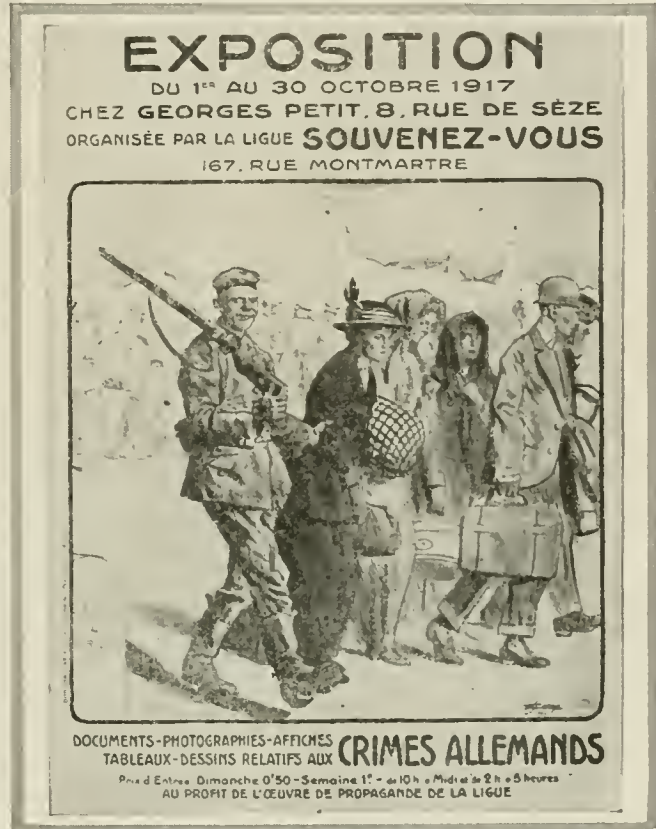
THE CLASS-WAR

The seriousness of the social situation in France became evident when in the first days of June it was learned that Cottin, whose attempt to assassinate Clemenceau confined the latter to his house for a few days, was sentenced to death. This verdict came almost immediately after the freeing of Villain, who had killed the Socialist leader Jaurès. The discrepancy between the two verdicts aroused the indignation of all French workingmen and Socialists and the regret of most non-Socialists. Anatole France, the great writer, said in the Socialist organ *L'Humanité*: "The assassin of Jaurès is declared to be not guilty. Workers, Jaurès labored for you and gave all for you. This monstrous verdict proclaims that his assassination is not a crime. This verdict places you outside the law—you and all those who defend your cause. Workers, be on your guard!" Cottin's death sentence

was reduced by Clemenceau himself to 10 years' imprisonment. At this very period more than 500,000 workingmen were on strike in France.

RECONSTRUCTION IN FRANCE

Of all the problems of reconstruction facing ruined France, the conflict between the social classes was the most alarming. There



Poster: Advertising Exposition

were constant threats of a general strike. The radical elements were violently opposed to the peace treaty, even although it gave France reparation for her sufferings and guarantees against future invasion. These same elements were also constantly attacking France's policy in Russia. But the rest of the French people were solidly behind Clemenceau in all his efforts. The madly joyous crowds which cheered the Big Four at the end of the Peace Conference, the stoning of the German peace delegates, and the celebration of the American

and French national holidays on the fourth and fourteenth of July were occasions on which the nationalistic tendencies of the French people manifested themselves. Men and women were now turning to the rebuild-

ing of a land shattered by four years of invasion, and social unrest seemed to be but an undercurrent that would soon be settled in some amicable way. Its solution was, in the last analysis not inseparable from the Peace Treaty.

ON THE ITALIAN FRONT, MCMXVI

By George Edward Woodberry

"I will die cheering, if I needs must die;
So shall my last breath write upon my lips
Viva Italia! when my spirit slips
Down the great darkness from the mountain sky;
And those who shall behold me where I lie
Shall murmur: 'Look, you! how his spirit dips
From glory into glory! the eclipse
Of death is vanquished! Lo, his victor-cry!'

"Live, thou, upon my lips, Italia mine,
The sacred death-cry of my frozen clay!
Let thy dear light from my dead body shine
And to the passer-by thy message say:
'*Ecco!* though heaven has made my skies divine,
My sons' love sanctifies my soil for aye!'"

ITALY'S HEROIC STRUGGLE

Italy Meets the Hereditary Austrian Foe and Fights with the Allies for Freedom

THE ITALIAN PAGEANT

THE story of Italy during the war years differs sensibly from that of the other chief nations of Europe. In the first place, when the war began Italy was the only European Great Power that was not involved, and this neutrality continued for almost a year. In the second place, there were great divergences of public opinion regarding the war, and even after Italy became a belligerent there was not that virtual unanimity of public sentiment which characterized the war-psychology of most of the other combatant nations. In fact, Italy's whole war story abounds in dramatic incidents and is pervaded with a colorful tone quite in keeping with her bright skies and ardent, high-strung people.

POLITICAL INSTABILITY

That Italy's reaction to the war would be both complex and stressful was patent to

close observers of Italian affairs previous to the war. During the eventful years preceding the great cataclysm, Italy was going through a period of acute political transition both internal and external. In foreign policy Italy had long been restive under the bonds of the Triple Alliance which tied her to Germany and Austria, the Italo-Turkish War of 1911 having strained those bonds almost to the snapping point. As for her internal political life, its transitional character was even more rapid and acute. New political parties of extremist tendencies like the Nationalists and the Syndicalists were pressing to the front. Almost on the eve of the European War the "Red Week" of June, 1914, revealed the volcanic forces which underlay the surface. During those June days a whirlwind of rioting and violence swept the peninsula from end to end, while in parts of central Italy the whole fabric of organized society seemed to be collapsing into anarchy. Cities like Ancona raised the Red Flag, declared



Italy Strikes the Hun

Italian soldiers entrenched in well-made trenches. Fighting on the Italian front was continuous throughout the summer of 1918.

themselves free communes, decreed the abolition of the Monarchy, and proclaimed the Revolutionary Republic. After a few hectic days, to be sure, the government got control of the situation, but the public mind was seriously alarmed and troubled as to the future. It was under the spell of the Red Week portent that Italy faced the outbreak of Armageddon. Obviously Italian social life contained volcanic elements which needed watching and which the pressure of external forces might stir to fresh activity.

OFFICIAL NEUTRALITY

The uncertainty of the internal situation undoubtedly confirmed the Italian Government in its first attitude toward the European War. That attitude was neutrality. For the moment, indeed, no other attitude was possible. The way in which the Teutonic Empires had forced the issue plainly released Italy from all legal obligations under the Triple Alliance treaty, since that alliance was a purely defensive instrument. That was the



Italian Crowds Cheer for War

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War with Germany was popular with the bulk of the Italian people, who had never approved of the Treaty which had allied them with Austria, their natural enemy.

answer given to German and Austrian requests for aid. Even at the beginning, however, Italy's neutrality was slightly benevolent toward the Entente, because the Italian Government at once informed the French Ambassador confidentially that Italy had resolved not to aid her Triplician allies. This enabled the French to strip their Italian border of troops—a circumstance which was vital to

the course of the war, since it was with the help of these troops that France was able to throw back the German invasion at the battle of the Marne.

PUBLIC OPINION: THE NEUTRALISTS

The government, as I have just said, was aided in its neutralist policy by the necessity

of waiting to see how Italian public opinion would crystallize toward the war. This crystallization, however, was of a most complicated character, though unquestionably it approved the government's neutrality as a whole. The great middle-class political parties which controlled Parliament and formed the mainstay of the government—the Conservatives and Liberals—at once endorsed the

theirs in war, so that, after the war, a neutral Italy, with unimpaired capital, untouched factories, and intact working-staffs, would have a great advantage over commercial competitors. Typical of this viewpoint is an article in the great Liberal periodical *La Nuova Antologia* of December, 1914. "Our material interests and the lives of our countrymen are not risked in the bloody ventures of battles,"



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Anti-German Demonstrations in Rome

While the bulk of Italian opinion was neutralist, with a rather small minority pro-German, another somewhat large minority was from the start pro-Ally.

government's action whole-heartedly. This was also true of the Majority Socialists and most of the Radicals. The middle classes—shopkeepers, independent farmers, factory owners, business men, professional men, etc.—were at the moment much opposed to the thought of entering the war. These classes were keenly responsive to economic arguments, and most of such arguments made for continued peace. It was clear that, by remaining neutral, Italy would conserve her resources while her neighbors were wasting

stated the article with evident satisfaction, "and we have reason to hope that the indispensable continuity of our national labor will not be interrupted." As for the Majority Socialists, they maintained unwavering fidelity to their anti-militarist Marxian principles. Their party manifesto, dated September 22, 1914, read: "Workers! The prettexts with which some are trying to lead you to the slaughter are not worth the cost of life and treasure which war entails. . . . Proclaim that Italy, the only great European Power

outside the struggle, hereby declares its mission of mediator between the belligerents. In the name of the International, in the name of Socialism, oh Proletarians of Italy, we invite you to maintain and accentuate your irreconcilable opposition to war!"

old alliance and feared a voyage into uncharted political seas. The Catholic party scarcely veiled its pro-Teutonic leanings. At the party congress held toward the end of September, 1914, its leader, Signor Meda, said that to attack the Central Powers "would



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The Italian War Mission on a Visit to the U. S.

Left to right: Alvisio Bragadini, of the Transportation Department; Gen. Gugliemotti, Military Attaché; Enrico Arlotto, minister of Maritime and Railway Transportation of Italy, and head of Italian commission; Comdr. Vannutelli, representing the Navy; G. Pardo, of the Department of Industry and Commerce, and Gaetano Pietra, of the Agriculture Department.

THE PRO-GERMANS

The bulk of the Conservatives, Liberals and Majority Socialists were whole-hearted neutrals, with no strong sympathies for either side. There were other sections of public opinion which, though also for neutrality, were more or less sympathetic with the Central Powers. Many Conservatives, brought up in the Triplician tradition, clung to the

be a disloyal and dangerous war which the great bulk of the country does not want." And the Congress voted the following resolution: "The Catholics decide to adhere with entire confidence to Italy's declaration of complete neutrality; they see in it the surest means of safeguarding the country's interests and those of civilization, amid the political and economic rivalries of the present hour." As to the Nationalists, the exponents of a jingo

imperialism; at the very beginning of the war, when it looked as though the Teutonic Powers were about to win a sweeping victory, they tended to advocate intervention on the Austro-German side in order to earn a claim to the Mediterranean possessions of France and England, but after the battle of the Marne the Nationalists rapidly changed front and advocated watchful neutrality. The Nationalists were especially appreciative of Pre-

the Entente side, albeit for different reasons. The Radicals and Republicans, together with many Socialists, were pro-Ally mostly out of sympathy for France. To these groups the French Republic was a cherished ideal which must be supported at any cost if liberty were not to give place everywhere to Prussian absolutism. Furthermore, these political reasons were reinforced by feelings of racial and cultural solidarity. Such feelings won many of



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Italian Crowds Clamoring for War

Almost the entire population of Milan turned out to demand that the Government declare war. There was a counter-demonstration by the Socialists against war. Troopers had to be called out to prevent hostilities.

mier Salandra's pronouncement that "Sacred Egoism" would be the touchstone of Italian foreign policy.

THE PRO-ALLIES

While the bulk of Italian public opinion was neutralist, with a rather small minority pro-German, another somewhat larger minority was from the start vigorously pro-Ally. Most of the Radicals, Republicans, and Syndicalists were stalwart champions of the Entente and even for Italian intervention on

Italy's leading literary and artistic lights to the Allied side. At the very start of the war the noted Italian poet, Gabriele d'Annunzio, uttered a fervent appeal to his fellow-countrymen urging them to stand by the "Latin Sister's" side. "Nature herself," cried the poet, "makes Italy one with France. Upon both, as upon all the Mediterranean peoples, is laid the duty of sustaining the supreme struggle against an imminent menace of servitude and extinction." And early in 1915 the eminent Italian historian, Guglielmo Ferrero, proclaimed: "For us all, children of Greece and

Rome that we are, and bound to France by the sacred ties of language and culture, there arises a grave matter of conscience. . . . Can we let France bear alone to the end this terrible and glorious task from which the genius of our race will come forth grown young once more?"

GROWTH OF ENTENTE FEELING

During the winter of 1914-15, Italian public opinion grew rapidly more heated over the war. Dispassionate neutralism, so marked in the first weeks, became rare, and Italy finally resolved itself into a vast debating society wherein the partisans of neutrality and intervention argued their rival theses with growing vehemence of language and violence of tone. Monster mass-meetings, demonstrations and counter-demonstrations, frequently ending in bloodshed, were the order of the day. As time passed, however, it became clear that Italian feeling was steadily swinging over to the Allied side. Pro-Germans no longer ventured to air their sentiments. In fact, most of those who had been pro-Germans at the beginning were now neutralists, while the original neutralists were flocking in growing numbers to the interventionist camp. Still, the neutralists were very numerous. In the early spring of 1915 they probably yet represented a majority of the Italian people.

GOVERNMENTAL CHANGES

This shift in public opinion was paralleled by the similar evolution which was going on in governmental circles. At the outbreak of the European War the Italian Cabinet was made up predominantly of neutralists. This was especially true of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Marchese di San Giuliano, a veteran diplomat grown gray in the Triplician tradition. But in October, 1914, San Giuliano died, and his post was filled by Baron Sidney Sonnino, a man with an English mother and known pro-English leanings. During the winter other cabinet changes occurred, always in the same direction, so that by the spring of 1915 the cabinet was no longer of a neutralist complexion, especially in the case of Baron Sonnino. The result of these changes was soon to be seen.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH AUSTRIA

Acting on its policy of "Sacred Egoism," the governmental attitude had always been that Italy should have compensation for Austria's upsetting of the Balkan equilibrium by her attack on Serbia. The Italian Government now began to press Austria for the immediate settlement of this compensation, and indicated that it must take the form of Austria's cession to Italy of those Italian-speaking districts north and east of the Italian frontier which most Italians had always longed to see united with the Motherland. In December, 1914, Italy took the first step in enforcing her desires by occupying the chief Albanian port, Avlona. Albania had in the past been a disputed area between Italy and Austria. Now Italy clinched her paramountcy and Austria dared make no objection. By the early spring the Italian Government was pressing Austria for a complete settlement and was threatening war in case of refusal. The Teutonic Powers made desperate efforts to avert the crisis. Germany sent one of her ablest diplomats, the suave Prince Bülow, to Rome, counting on his extensive Italian connections to stem the tide. On the other hand, the Entente diplomats were showering Italy with attentions and promises in the growing hope of sweeping her into the war.

ITALY PREPARES FOR WAR

The government's hardening attitude was reflected in the tone of the official press. Shortly after the appointment of Baron Sonnino the authoritative *Tribuna*, hitherto thoroughly neutralist, remarked editorially: "This is not a war of governments, but of nations—of races. It may last for a year or years. Therefore Italian neutrality is a transitory condition, due to circumstances, which may change at any moment. There is thus necessity for military, economic, and diplomatic preparation on the part of the government, and of moral and political preparation on the part of the public." By the early spring the governmental organs were frankly menacing. At the beginning of March, 1915, the *Giornale d'Italia* wrote: "The time has come to make clear to the people that the present state of things cannot last indefinitely.



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Gabriele d'Annunzio

Italy's famous poet, dramatist, and novelist became an aviator during the war; but he won his greatest renown by his oratorical flights by which he stirred his people to action against Austria. He is an Italian Imperialist and in 1919 he led an expedition which occupied Fiume.

Italy cannot emerge from the terrible European crisis as she is today. She must, therefore, be ready, for it would be suicide to let this crisis pass without improving her frontiers, realizing her aspirations, raising her prestige, and assuring her future. Action is life!" And a few weeks later it remarked: "Italy will do what her interests counsel, and while we do not take upon us to predict even

land, France, and Russia, the momentous Quadruple Treaty of April 26, 1915. At the moment this instrument was strictly secret. It was not given to the world till the Bolshevik Government of Russia published it as one of its "exhibits" of malevolent secret diplomacy. The treaty promised Italy practically everything that her most extreme imperialists at that time demanded. South



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King Victor Emanuel With Two of His Generals

the near future, we are in a position to affirm that she will reach her goal at any cost."

THE SECRET TREATY OF APRIL 26, 1915

Such semi-official press utterances as the above showed clearly that a crisis was at hand. In fact, the diplomatic exchanges during the early part of April showed the Italian Government how much more the Allies were willing to promise than Austria could possibly concede. Accordingly, toward the end of April, the Cabinet made its decision for war and signed with the Entente Powers, Eng-

Tyrol to the Brenner, the Gorizia-Gradisca region to its mountainous hinterland, the entire Istrian Peninsula including the city of Trieste, most of the islands in the Croatian Gulf, northern Dalmatia as far south as Cape Planka, most of the islands off the coast of southern Dalmatia, and a protectorate over Albania, not to mention extensive compensations in the eastern Mediterranean and in Africa, were to be Italy's rewards for joining the Entente in case of victory. Baron Sonnino could indeed congratulate himself on having driven a shrewd bargain, worthy of the best traditions of Macchiavelli.

WAR PROPAGANDA

Despite the Italian Government's decision, war did not immediately ensue. So great was still the neutralist feeling that the Cabinet desired to avoid precipitate action, trusting to the rapidly rising tide of war feeling to give them a fairly solid popular backing when the striking moment came. Accordingly, it was not until May 3d that Italy formally denounced the Triple Alliance pact with the Teutonic Empires and began to make open preparations for war. At this point Austria made a supreme effort for peace by offering Italy practically everything which the Italian Government had demanded a few weeks before. But the Italian Cabinet refused to consider this offer, and the official press let it be known that on April 25th Italy had come to terms with the Allies, albeit the clauses of the secret treaty were not revealed. This roused the interventionists all over Italy to a frenzy of enthusiasm. Every town and village had its patriotic demonstration, the government of course doing its best to increase the popular fervor. The domestic battle seemed already won and Italy fairly launched into the war.

THE NEUTRALIST STROKE

The battle, however, was not over. In fact, the supreme crisis had not yet begun. The neutralist opposition that now developed showed the wisdom of the government in moving slowly. For the neutralists the Austrian peace offer was a trump card, and they found an able standard-bearer in the noted Italian politician Giolitti, the cleverest parliamentary strategist of the day, who had been Premier only a few years before and possessed enormous influence over the deputies. Giolitti now acted with his usual vigor. Gathering behind him all the varied forces of neutrality—pacifist Socialists, pro-German aristocrats and Catholics, and the commercial and industrial North, to whom neutrality meant continued prosperity and plenty while war signified hard times and contingent ruin—Giolitti dashed into the lists waving the banner of peace. "Italy can have from Austria important and sufficient concessions without making war," was his rallying cry. Analyzing the Austrian offer of May 4th. and comparing it

with the practically identical Italian demands of the preceding month, Giolitti declared that Italy should be satisfied. Any further accessions of Austrian territory would mean lands peopled mainly by Slavs and Germans which would saddle Italy with "a problem of inverse irredentism worse even than has been the German problem of Alsace-Lorraine." To break with her allies of nearly thirty years' standing, continued Giolitti, would be an act of shameless perfidy which would leave Italy diplomatically bankrupt in the alliance-market of the world. Even if victorious, the financial strain and industrial disorganization would throw back Italian economic life at least a generation. "If Italy goes to war," concluded Giolitti, "the results are bound to be most sad, whatever the outcome."

The effect of these arguments was startling. The neutralists took courage and raised their voices once more. In Parliament the deputies, long accustomed to do Giolitti's bidding, showed unmistakable signs of again bowing to his will. For a moment it really looked as though Giolitti's eleventh-hour coup was going to succeed, and that there would be no war.

THE GOVERNMENT COUNTER-STROKE

But the Salandra-Sonnino Cabinet, fully committed to the Entente and convinced that retreat was impossible, determined that there must be war, and that the neutralist opposition must at all costs be broken. Accordingly, the whole machinery of a highly centralized bureaucracy was set in motion. The official press opened with broadsides of patriotic appeal and vitriolic invective seldom seen even in the high-tension politics of Italy. Giolitti was denounced as a traitor and a Judas bought by German gold. The people were reminded that the Secret Treaty pledged Italy's honor beyond recall. All over Italy a host of patriotic orators arose, inflaming the public against Austria by references to the Wars of Liberation and intoxicating it with memories of Imperial Rome. On May 13th the government played its trump card by offering its resignation. This put everything to the test. The government had burned its bridges behind it. It must now win all or lose all.

D'ANNUNZIO THE APOSTLE OF WAR

Both sides knew it, and redoubled their respective efforts. High over all his colleagues rang the voice of Gabriele d'Annunzio, holding vast multitudes enthralled with his burning eloquence, rousing them to the fervor of warlike abandon. Typical is his famous speech at Genoa from the Garibaldi monument on the historic Quarto, whence the great

we Italians have relighted this fire on the altar of Italy, then take faggots from it in your hands and blow upon them. Shake them, brandish them wherever you go, and, my young companions, thus sow the fire of war all about you and be the intrepid firebrands of Greater Italy. Sow the fire, that by tomorrow the souls of all shall be enkindled, and the voices of all a clamor of flame for Italy! Italy!" Roused to the depths



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Milan Cheering the War with Austria

Thousands of people gathered in the streets of Milan to cheer Italy's entrance into the war.

hero set out on his Sicilian expedition in 1860: "Today, gentlemen, your victorious will stands armed and eager for the fray. In looking at you and contemplating you, Italy reveals herself to me as a virgin land, just as it appeared to Achates, and as it was when for the first time there rang across the Tyrrhenian Sea the rapturous melody of her divine name. Tonight, before the dawn, many of you will set out for the land that shines from afar. Your hearts are messengers of faith. Ah, pilgrims of love! The same fire that kindled youth that night at the rock of Quarto flames anew in your breasts. If it be true, as I swear it is, that

by such exhortations, the interventionists organized monster demonstrations throughout Italy, calling for war and threatening the neutralists with summary penalties.

THE SUPREME CRISIS

The neutralists on their side were equally aroused. At first they treated the demonstrations and threats of the interventionists with scornful and angry contempt. *Il Mattino*, of Naples, the leading neutralist organ of southern Italy, scored "the forty or fifty thousand fools or rascals who wish to hurl into the abyss the country and the thirty-six millions

of Italians who do not want war, having everything to lose and nothing to gain from such a criminal adventure." The great socialist organ, *Avanti*, of Milan, exclaimed in a vitriolic leader: "What signs of decadence and moral baseness! In Milan we must witness callow youths parade in triumph,

poor working-folk groan, the people will have to bear all the consequences. The poet will have long since crossed the Alps once more, to enjoy comfortably and carnally among foreigners the fruits of that calculated frenzy of his which pushed into the blood-bath the Italian people."



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Italy's Mobilization for War with Austria

When Italy became a belligerent the Italian people enthusiastically backed the armies.

the expelled or deserters of all parties. In Rome the mob of hirelings fed from the bureaucratic trough gets itself drunk on the ear-splitting harangues of Gabriele d'Annunzio. And what harangues! Incitements to crime in all its forms. D'Annunzio as leader and inspirer of the national consciousness! Shame brings the blush hot to the cheeks. Truly, the most fearful disillusionments are in store. This bacchanalia of the patriots symbolized by d'Annunzio is only the outward sign of long-standing ills. And if now the war does come, if sorrow, want, and suffering settle down upon our land and aggravate still further the sad lot in which our

THE KING INTERVENES

However, after a couple of days, the interventionists began to get the upper hand. In the industrial North, to be sure, the Socialists returned blow for blow and kept up their end at the cost of considerable bloodshed. Elsewhere, however, the patriotic tide rose irresistibly. The neutralists, losing their nerve, began to hedge, especially as the government was obviously not especially anxious to afford them police protection. Giolitti, threatened with death, retired to the north. Rome was especially interventionist, and on May 16th the King invited Salandra to re-

sume office. Victor Emanuel thus had taken the decisive step. The interventionists celebrated with frenzied enthusiasm and the neutralist opposition went completely to pieces. Four days later the Cabinet clinched its victory by obtaining from Parliament practically dictatorial powers, and on May 23d war was formally declared on Austria.

refuge in silence. Giolitti wrapped himself in a mantle of cold reserve. The Vatican apparently did its best to obstruct the war. This silent disapproval, however, was almost as damaging as the more noisy Socialist attitude. It dampened the popular ardor and clogged the wheels in many ways, notably in the indifferent success of war-loans, wealthy



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New Italian Recruits Taking the Oath at Milan

ITALY AND THE WAR

Italy was now a belligerent, and by a majority of the Italian people the situation was accepted with patriotic enthusiasm and determination to attain complete victory. Unfortunately, however, the neutralist minority was more coerced than converted, and, while tendering the government formal support, remained at heart opposed to the war. The most outspoken section of the neutralist opposition was the Majority Socialist Party, which henceforth adopted a frankly obstructionist attitude in Parliament and an almost treasonable attitude outside the Parliament walls. The other neutralist groups, especially the Catholics and the extreme Conservatives, took

neutralists refusing to open their purse strings, and thus setting the small investor a bad example.

INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES

The situation was rendered more serious by the economic handicaps under which Italy was laboring, and by the indifferent success displayed by the government in meeting internal war-problems. Italy was economically badly prepared for the waging of a prolonged war. Naturally a poor country, her finances had never recovered from the drain of the Tripolitan War of only three years before, and the gigantic military preparations conducted ever since the beginning of the European conflict had further involved her finances. Also,

her belligerency produced an immediate industrial crisis owing to the stoppage of German coal imports on which Italian factories mainly depended. This involved extensive unemployment and increased Socialist discontent. In Italy, as everywhere else, belligerency meant an alarming rise in the cost of living, while the German submarine campaign so reduced or diverted shipping that Italy, not being a self-feeding nation, soon suffered an acute

FALL OF THE SALANDRA CABINET

All this growing discontent was brought sharply to a head by the Austrian victories on the Alpine front in the spring of 1916. Sharp parliamentary interpellations brought governmental admissions that military affairs had been mismanaged. This confession after twelve months of war roused furious criticism. The government was denounced as



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Italians Celebrate Their King's Birthday

Victor Emanuel's birthday is always an occasion for merriment and celebration. This shows a demonstration before the Quirinal in honor of that occasion in 1918.

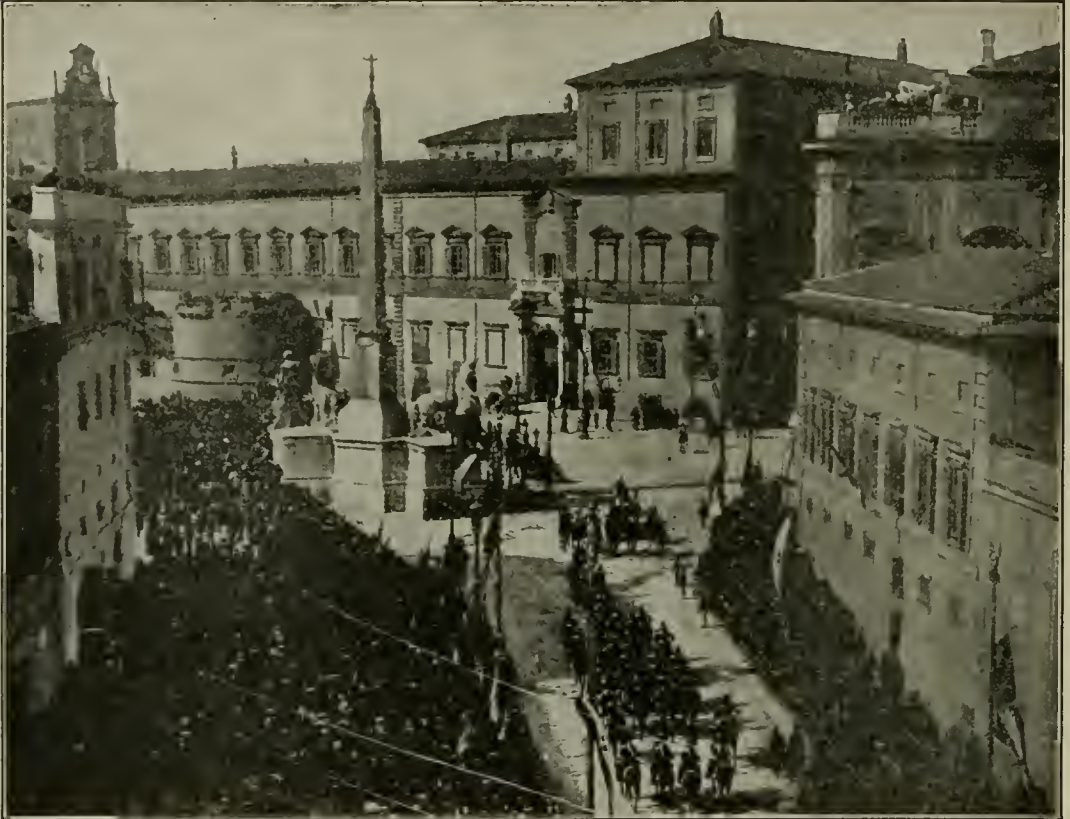
shortage of food. High prices and food shortage in turn brought on speculation and profiteering by conscienceless individuals, and this profiteering the Salandra Cabinet failed to meet with energetic action. The upshot was a widespread and growing discontent against the government, arising not merely from neutralist opponents but also from many persons who, though perfectly convinced of the justice of the war, objected strenuously to the way it was being run. The combined forces of disaffection constituted a formidable political opposition,

being able neither to fight nor to govern, and in mid-June the Salandra Cabinet was forced to resign. A new Cabinet was formed under the premiership of Signor Boselli, a veteran political leader noted for tact and conciliation. The new Cabinet was a coalition government. Salandra had attempted to maintain a straight Liberal administration. Boselli, on the other hand, invited members of all parties save the neutralist groups to seats in his Cabinet. The most notable hold-over from the Salandra Cabinet was Baron Sonnino, who continued to direct Italy's foreign policy.

FRESH DIFFICULTIES

For a while things ran more smoothly. The military situation grew better and the new government grappled seriously with domestic difficulties such as profiteering and the shortage of coal and food. But the financial stringency went from bad to worse. Domestic

liament. The Russian Revolution a few months later gave a fresh fillip to neutralist endeavors. The Socialist party officially adopted the Russian peace-formula: "No Annexations and no Indemnities." This was a candid proposal to give up some of the very objects for which Italy had entered the war. Nevertheless, the neutralists did not hesitate



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The Quirinal Palace, Royal Residence of the Italian Rulers

This was where President Wilson was received by Victor Emanuel III. The palace has been the home of popes and kings since 1574; it was erected by Pope Gregory XIII.

war loans proved wholly insufficient to meet the colossal war-expenditures, and Italy was saved from an acute financial crisis only by generous financial assistance from England and later by the United States after its entrance into the war. Meanwhile the neutralists were keeping up their veiled or open opposition. The German peace overtures at the end of 1916 gave an excuse for an outburst of pacifist propaganda, open demands for peace being voiced by Socialist deputies in Par-

to urge peace on this basis, and their propaganda was not without success. During the spring of 1917 bloody riots occurred in the industrial centers of northern Italy, especially at Turin and Milan, and Socialist leaders were implicated in such extreme pacifist propaganda that they were arrested and subsequently condemned to long prison terms. Besides the native neutralists, Italy was honeycombed with German and Russian Bolshevik agents, taking advantage of a favorable

soil to sow the seeds of defeatism and social revolution.

THE CRISIS OF CAPORETTO

All this explains the terrible military disaster which overtook Italy in the autumn of 1917. That disaster showed that defeatism was not confined to the civilian population but had impregnated the Army as well. Whole regiments, especially from the South, refused to resist the Teutonic attack, laying down their arms or retreating with cries of "Long live Peace." For a few days it looked as though Italy, like Russia, was going to collapse.

But the very magnitude of the disaster acted like an electric shock and proved that, despite the presence of intransigent defeatist elements, the heart of Italy was sound. Before the spectacle of the Austrian hereditary foe sweeping across the Italian plains and menacing Venice, the bulk of the Italian Army gathered itself together in furious resistance and stayed the peril at the eleventh hour, while behind them rose the fervor of Italian patriotism, roused to new life and loyalty.

THE ORLANDO GOVERNMENT

The disaster of Caporetto merely hastened an internal political crisis which was already on the way. The Boselli Cabinet had done better than its predecessor, but its performances had not come up to popular expectations. Industrial disorganization, fuel and food shortages, high prices, and profiteering continued, while lack of summary measures against defeatist propaganda had aroused widespread anger and disgust. The Caporetto disaster was the last straw. Accordingly the Boselli Cabinet resigned at the end of October, 1917, and a new Cabinet was formed headed by Signor Vittorio Orlando, a man with a distinguished political career. Like its predecessor, the Orlando Cabinet was a Coalition Government. Several members of the late ministry retained their seats, notably Sonnino, who remained in charge of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The last year of the war was internally a relatively quiet time for Italy. It is true that during the critical months of the great

German spring drive of 1918 in Northern France defeatism again raised its head, while economic difficulties were by no means abated. Nevertheless, the Orlando Government showed more firmness and ability in dealing with these domestic problems than had been displayed by either of its predecessors, and Italy weathered the stormy period with no marked disturbances. The military turn of the tide in France in mid-summer at once eased the internal situation, and in the growing certainty of approaching triumph defeatism was discredited and forgotten.

THE ARMISTICE

The collapse of the Austrian Armies at the end of October culminated in an armistice signed on November 3d. By its terms not only did the Austrian military and naval power capitulate to the Italian arms, but Italy obtained the right to immediate occupation of all those Austrian territories promised her by her allies under the Secret Treaty of April 26, 1915. Italian troops therefore at once occupied South Tyrol to the Brenner Pass, the Gorizia-Gradisca region to the crest of the Julian Alps, Istria, northern Dalmatia, and the islands of the eastern Adriatic coast. This zone of military occupation was subsequently extended to include all the Tyrol and portions of the Adriatic hinterland. Still later the Italians occupied the city of Fiume.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S VISIT

In Italy, as in all the other Allied countries, the end of the war and the approach of victorious peace was hailed with delirious joy. Premier Orlando and Baron Sonnino became popular idols and left for the Versailles Peace Conference aureoled with the nation's adulation. The popular mood revealed itself dramatically when President Wilson paid his famous visit to Italy at the beginning of January, 1919. Such a welcome as the Italian nation gave the American President it had never before been the fortunate lot of a foreign visitor to receive. From the moment that Mr. Wilson crossed the Italian frontier his journey was one long triumphal procession. All along the railroad mountaineers and peasants stood in picturesque garb, waving count-

less flags and shouting their welcome. At every city vast crowds surrounded the railroad stations and packed the streets. The climax was reached at Rome where Mr. Wilson was royally received by King, government and people and was showered with honors. The return journey to the French frontier was a replica of his Romeward progress, and the presidential visit was one long to be remembered in the annals of both the Italian and American nations.

5,500,000 men and had suffered losses amounting to no less than 1,500,000. Of these 364,000 died in battle and 100,000 from disease, while of the 1,000,000 wounded over half—550,000—were permanently incapacitated. That meant a million men either dead or become a permanent charge on the national revenues. Remembering the comparative figures of population, to make an equal sacrifice with Italy the United States would have had to call over 15,000,000 men into service, and



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A Scene on the River Front in Trent

RECONSTRUCTION

From the joyous celebration of victory the Italian people turned to the more prosaic but not less vital business of liquidating the war and repairing the losses wrought by the terrible struggle just ended. I have already shown how ill-equipped in many ways Italy was for Armageddon and how dangerously the terrific strain told upon her on more than one occasion. The end of the war revealed fully to public knowledge how great that strain had been and what were the sacrifices Italy had made. The human losses alone were terrible. Since the beginning of the war Italy had called to the colors nearly

suffer 4,500,000 casualties, whereas our total casualties were less than 300,000.

The material losses were proportionally even more serious. Relatively speaking a poor country and with finances still crippled from the Tripolitan War of 1911-12, Italy had incurred huge expenses during the European conflict and had in addition suffered incalculable losses through the devastation of her northeastern provinces by the Austrian Armies in the last year of the war. Excluding all mention of these latter losses, which must run into the billions, Italy's financial difficulties could be gauged by a statement of Luigi Luzzatti, Italy's leading financial authority and a former Premier. Early in 1919



L. F. Bouchor

By J. F. Bouchor

Tipperary

Signor Luzzatti stated: "Italy, I am sad to say, leads the whole world in the relative height of her war debt. Subtracting Italy's losses in men and money, her national wealth is only about \$20,000,000,000. But Italy's war debt is now more than \$12,500,000,000, whereas when she entered the war it was about \$2,750,000,000. And when pensions, government bills to manufacturers, and other necessary expenses have been paid, her national debt will be about \$16,000,000,000."

BOUNDARY PROBLEMS

Unfortunately Italy was compelled to divert her attention to a certain extent from these pressing domestic readjustments to questions concerning the settlement of her new frontiers. The Versailles Peace Conference had not been long in session before it became evident that differences of opinion existed between Italy and most of the other Allied Powers as to what those frontiers should be. Italy took her stand on the Secret Treaty of April 26, 1915, the main provisions of which I have already noted. But this conflicted

with the national aspirations of the Yugoslavs, the Greeks, and the Austrian Germans, and threatened such serious race-conflicts in the future that many of the statesmen assembled at Versailles, particularly President Wilson, believed that Italy should abate her pretensions in the interest of a lasting European settlement. The reader will find the main story of the acute crisis that now developed related in the chapter on Yugoslavia, while the disputes with Greece and German Austria are discussed in the chapters devoted to those nations. Suffice it to say here that Premier Orlando and Baron Sonnino, the heads of the Italian Cabinet and Italy's representatives at Versailles, took their stand firmly on the Secret Treaty, even adding thereto by demanding Fiume, and when the other Powers persisted in their denial of Italian claims the Italian representatives actually left the Peace Conference toward the end of April, 1919. Returning to Italy, they were received with tumultuous popular demonstrations of approval, the bulk of the Italian people unquestionably being for the complete realization of their government's aspirations.

THE ROAD TO FRANCE*

By Daniel M. Henderson

Thank God, our liberating lance
Goes flaming on the way to France!
To France—the trail the Gurkhas found;
To France—old England's rallying ground!
To France—the path the Russians strode!
To France—the Anzacs' glory road!
To France—where our Lost Legion ran
To fight and die for God and man!
To France—with every race and breed
That hates Oppression's brutal creed!

Ah, France, how could our hearts forget
The path by which came Lafayette?
How could the haze of doubt hang low
Upon the road of Rochambeau?
How was it that we missed the way
Brave Joffre leads us along to-day?
At last, thank God! At last, we see
There is no tribal Liberty!
No beacon lighting just our shores,
No Freedom guarding but our doors,
The flame she kindled for our sires

Burns now in Europe's battle-fires,
The soul that led our fathers west
Turns back to free the world's oppress.

Allies, you have not called in vain;
We share your conflict and your pain.
"Old Glory," through new stains and rents,
Partakes of Freedom's sacraments.
Into that hell his will creates
We drive the foe—his lusts, his hates.
Last come, we will be last to stay.
Till Right has had her crowning day.
Replenish, comrades, from our veins
The blood the sword of despot drains.
And make our eager sacrifice
Part of the freely rendered price
You pay to lift humanity—
You pay to make our brothers free.
See, with what proud hearts we advance
To France!

* Awarded first place in a prize-poem contest conducted by the National Arts Club, New York.

RUSSIA UNTIL THE REVOLUTION

While the Tide of Battle Rolls Back and Forth, the Russian Duma Fights for Freedom

AN IMPENDING DOOM

THE story of Russia during the first years of the European War bears the signs of a Greek tragedy. Through all the turmoil of the war fever, all the tumult and the shouting, all the wild enthusiasms and fierce despairs, there runs the red thread of impending Doom, of Fate, inexorable and very nigh. Everywhere there is a stirring of obscure forces, a mysterious mobilization of the depths, heralding the advent of strange and untoward things.

For him who had eyes to see and ears to hear, these manifestations of Destiny were evident long before August, 1914. If the early war years are the first act of the Russian tragedy, there had already been a prologue a decade before. That prologue was the abortive Revolution of 1904-05. Then was the stage set. Then were the rôles assigned. From then on the coming drama was rehearsed without ceasing. In fact, at the very moment of the diplomatic crisis preceding the European War a revolutionary dress-rehearsal was on at Petrograd that in quieter times would have drawn the world's attention. Indeed, viewed from the Russian angle, the European War seems almost like an interlude, first retarding and then accelerating the revolutionary theme.

THE TWO RUSSIAS

One of the great lessons taught by her recent history is that Russia was twain. The Revolution of 1904-05 had shown that Russia was a house divided against itself. An iron wall of caste sundered the masses from their rulers. On one side of this wall existed arrogance, corruption, cruelty; on the other, ignorance, misery, and bitterness. The aims and aspirations of these two Russias were as

hopelessly apart as if they were two hostile and alien nations. On the one hand, imperial Russia—the court, the great landowners, the nobility, and the clergy—sought to rivet autocracy on the people more and more tightly; to use the dark powers of the church, the knout, and the scaffold to perpetuate absolutism. On the other hand, revolutionary Russia—the Intelligentsia, the proletarians, and the peasants—cried out for reform, for a more democratic form of government, a more liberal structure of society. On the one hand imperial Russia was dreaming of empire; on the other hand revolutionary Russia was dreaming of freedom.

THE DREAM OF IMPERIAL RUSSIA

Like a huge pendulum, the imperialistic ambitions of the government was swinging from East to West, from West to East. First it was going to stretch Siberia all over the Far East. Hurled back by Japan, it turned to the Balkans. It would stretch the Slav empire through Serbia and Bulgaria. It would break a passage to the sea by conquering Constantinople. It would build a great Pan-Slavic empire that would loom up against the "rotten West." In the way of these ambitions stood Austria and Germany. For them Russia would be ready. In 1913 the Duma began to vote huge army increases. A network of strategic railways was begun along the German border. A war of propaganda was launched against the Teutonic rivals.

THE GREAT UNREST

Meanwhile revolutionary Russia was dreaming of other things. From the time when the iron hand of Stolypin had crushed the uprisings of 1905, the masses had not



Funeral of a Russian Officer

These Russians, injured to every horror of modern warfare, used daily to scenes of death and destruction, were yet moved by the impressive ceremony of the burial of a fellow officer.

ceased to hope for another revolution. Nether Russia lay like a smouldering crater ready to burst out at the proper moment. By 1913 it began to rumble. There were signs of deep unrest. Strikes broke out in Petrograd, Moscow, and other industrial centers. A congress of workingmen, meeting in Kiev in October, passed a resolution censuring the government. The Czar was somewhat alarmed by this unrest. He appointed a new premier, Goremykin, with instructions to enter into harmonious relations with the Duma, the only representative body. But the Duma sided with the people. It remained hostile to the general policy of the government. Popular discontent began to swell. On May Day, 1914, 130,000 workers went on strike in Petrograd alone. June and July saw the strike movement growing. The government sent out Cossacks. The workers threw up barricades in the streets. The Cossacks charged them, and the workers fought back. Russia was on the brink of another revolution.

REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA AND THE WAR

The outbreak of hostilities caused the people to declare a truce with their government. The tide of patriotism swept the entire country. All internal dissension was forgotten in the face of the hated German enemy. All classes joined hands to defend the Fatherland. The Duma hastened to vote the necessary funds to carry on the struggle. The middle classes felt called upon to perform a great mission. The liberal *Ruskoye Slovo* of Moscow cried: "Rise, ye great Russian people! History is calling upon you to perform a great feat." The workers went to their posts in high hopes that something good would come out of the struggle. The peasant lads marched joyfully from their villages, with songs on their lips, to crush the hated Germans who had dared to assail "Little Mother Russia." The only part of revolutionary Russia which sullenly stood apart and refused to support the war consisted of the extremest Socialists. While in France, Germany, Belgium, and Austria-Hungary the Socialists had joined the other parties in supporting the government, in Russia they wrote to M. Vandervelde, the Belgian Socialist and ex-minister, that they would not for a moment lay

down their arms against the Czar and the bureaucracy. "The Russian as well as the German Government is the enemy of democracy," they said. "Even now that it is at war it persecutes the workingmen and the non-Russian nationalities; and should it be victorious it would be the propagator of political reaction in all Europe."

IMPERIAL RUSSIA AND THE WAR

But these voices were drowned in the clamorous applause of the war. A hectic enthusiasm seized the majority of the Russian people. They discussed the conflict in a sort of delirious delight, as if they were out on a holiday. The imagination of the imperialists was particularly inflamed. The Austrian collapse at Lemberg set them dreaming intemperately of dividing both central empires. Menshikov, the brilliant editorial writer of the imperialist organ *Novoye Vremya*, wrote: "It is highly desirable for Russia to surround herself with buffers, with a network of political organisms, harmless to Russia, yet capable of opposing resistance to others' aggressions. If we succeed in making Germany and Austria into Balkan-like groups of peoples, then we can at last sleep safe o' nights about our western border." In November of 1914 the joy of the imperialists rose. Turkey had entered the war on the side of Germany, and they saw the opportunity of realizing their dream of obtaining Constantinople and the Straits. People cheered in the streets when they heard the news of Turkey's entrance. The Emperor himself stated in his war manifesto: "Together with the whole Russian people, we firmly believe that Turkey's insensate intervention will hasten the fatal—to her—course of events and will open out to Russia a way to the solution of those historical problems on the shores of the Black Sea bequeathed by our ancestors." The tempting morsel was within imperial Russia's grasp and it would not hear of giving it up. Anglo-French utterances about internationalizing the Straits were bitterly resented. Prince Eugene Troubetzkoi wrote in the *Ruskaya Vyedomosti*, of Moscow: "Our allies, like our enemies, should know the Russian popular point of view. There is only one solution of the problem which corresponds to our national interests—

Constantinople and the Straits must become Russian. Any other solution is unacceptable for us."

UNITED RUSSIA

Thus did imperial Russia's heart beat with high hopes. And, at that moment, even revolutionary Russia for the most part supported it. The eyes of the masses were directed toward the battle front. Domestic troubles were forgotten in the common joy of military victory. A strange exultation pervaded the whole nation. During the early months of

impression. Except for the Socialists, Russian public opinion was very optimistic in the spring of 1915. A new world was coming. The Army was proudly breasting the Carpathians overlooking the plains of Hungary. The Western Allies were pounding away at the Dardanelles. A happy victory seemed almost in sight.

THE END OF THE TRUCE

But dark days were ahead. The tremendous Austro-German spring drive tore away



Przemysl, Galician Stronghold

© Underwood and Underwood.

Scene of many bitter struggles between the Russians and the Teutonic Allies in the early part of the war.

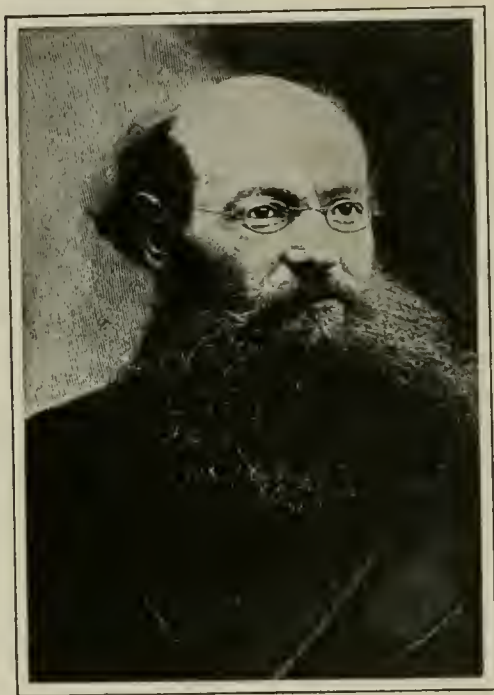
the war everybody talked about the good that was born out of evil. The happy results of prohibition were celebrated all over the country. The abolition of vodka had regenerated Russia, people said. It had increased the health of the masses. It had infused strength into the soldiers. At the same time the Czar's heart went out to the smaller nationalities. He indicted love notes and promises of autonomy to his beloved Jews, his beloved Poles, his beloved Ukrainians. Unfortunately, while he was making all these promises of a roseate future, he was also pursuing a ruthless policy of "Russification." This made the non-Russian peoples somewhat sceptical. But in Russia proper the proclamations created a fine

the whole western flank of Russia and left her gasping and bleeding. Her dampened, depressed, and ill-equipped Armies were crawling back before the steady onslaught of the enemy. Popular enthusiasm broke under the strain of military defeat. Once more people became critical. Suspicion of imperial Russia crept back into the heart of revolutionary Russia. The truce between them was at an end. People began to ask questions. Why were the splendid troops of Russia hurled back in the midst of their victories? Was it due to German military genius? The masses felt there were other reasons. Ugly rumors circulated about inefficiency, wastefulness, and graft in the government. High government

officials were suspected of betraying the innocent and patriotic young men whose lives had been put in their hands. It was said that many regiments were not given enough munitions or were supplied with bad shells. It was said many soldiers had to fight frenzied battles with naked hands.

TREASON NEAR THE THRONE

On the first of August, the Duma, the mouthpiece of the people, met and threw down



Prince Peter Kropotkin

A man of great and varied gifts, who for half a century fed the flame of revolution.

the gauntlet to the government. The War Office was violently attacked. Who were the traitors guilty of the munition outrage? Let them be put on trial at once. Ministers pleaded for national unity, but the time for that had passed. Popular indignation ran high, and the government had to compromise. A serious crisis seemed to be at hand. As a result of investigation by a committee, no less a personage than the Minister of War, Sukhomlinov, was arrested and disgraced. The whole country was shocked by the black

corruption which had eaten its way into the conduct of the war. The government itself was murdering the sons of the people. The central and progressive groups in the Duma, sobered by the situation, joined to form a *bloc* which demanded a more efficient conduct of the war and a more liberal solution of internal problems. They asked the Czar for a new ministry. The Czar refused, and when the Duma insisted too strongly, he dissolved it in September, 1915. The war between imperial and revolutionary Russia was on again.

THE SORROW OF A PEOPLE

The prorogation of the Duma completely disillusioned the masses. With sadness they perceived that between them and the autocracy there could be no peace. Many workmen went out on strike in Moscow. The government attempted to throttle the strikers by martial law. Censorship on news from Russia was tightened. But the people kept on clamoring for a reorganization of army supplies and for a greater share in the management of affairs upon which their whole existence depended. The government was alarmed into making some concessions. Three reactionary ministers were replaced by moderate conservatives. Disgusted with the inefficiency of the government, the people decided to take some things into their own hands. Many industrial towns formed war committees to handle the food supply and take care of the wounded. Meantime November 14th came. It was the day on which the Duma was supposed to be reconvened. The people waited anxiously, but the year passed away and still the government failed to convoke the only body which could speak for the nation. Men and women of all classes were deeply pained, and shook their heads over the military and political situations. Here the existence of a great nation hung in the balance, and there a stupid and corrupt government did nothing to rescue it from destruction. Even the conservative *Kievanin* remarked pessimistically: "And so those who remain indifferent, who saw nothing and heard nothing, have pushed aside those who have been so responsive to the needs of the Army, whose hearts bled for it. . . . Nothing can be added to this. The



Courtesy of Leslie's Weekly.

Sunset in Petrograd

This unusual picture is symbolic of faction-torn, mystic Russia seething under the disturbing influences which carried it to the verge of anarchy. Thousands surrounded the monument, which stands in commemoration of the dynasty which has gone, listening to the speeches of many prophets, and bearing standards which to the crowd meant Utopia.

government has assumed a terrible responsibility. God grant that it may never regret this step."

DRINKING TO FORGET

A wave of pessimism swept over the whole country. In this bitter mood the masses sought their old consolation in drink. Legal prohibition did not prevent the secret distillation of inferior liquors. Peasants lolled about in the villages stupefied by such crude substitutes for vodka as furniture polish, flavoring extracts, Eau de Cologne, and even wood

movement for peace came from two sections of the Russian people who were most opposed to each other—the extreme "Right" and the extreme "Left." The reactionaries wanted peace so that they might suppress revolution; the radicals wanted peace so that they might overthrow autocracy. Monarchists met in congresses through 1915 where prominent Russian statesmen attacked all proposed reform and deplored the conflict with Germany. They intimated that a separate peace with Germany would be welcome. To them the reactionary Central Powers were the best



In the Heart of Rural Russia

alcohol. They used to buy the latter in cakes and smear it on bread as they would butter. The effects on the masses became alarming. "The constant rise in mortality figures," wrote Dr. Novoselski in the *Russki Vrach*, "which bears testimony to the growing number of consumers of different substitutes for vodka, shows that these are used not only by confirmed drunkards, but generally by those classes who, before the prohibition law, used to drink moderately."

THE PEACE MOVEMENT—1915

From the dark chaos of 1915 many voices began to call for peace with Germany. The

allies against a "Red" revolution, which they dreaded more than anything else. At one of these congresses, arranged by the Conservative Party, M. Maklakov, who had been Minister of the Interior during the war's earlier stages, exclaimed amidst thunderous applause from his fellow reactionaries: "I am quite at a loss to understand why Russia ever went to war with Germany. Both states depend upon each other and their historical development shows that they must live in close friendly relations." It was apparent that the conservatives considered not Germany but the masses as their real enemy.

On the other hand the extreme revolutionary elements were crying: "Peace at any



Courtesy of Red Cross.

"The Russian Prisoners Were Always Hungry"

The Germans did not allow their prisoners of war sufficient food to give them strength enough to perform the tasks assigned to them. The Russian prisoners could always be found around the refuse piles seeking for leavings of food.

price! Let the Revolution go on!" From the very beginning of the war a "dread of victory" had seized them. As early as October, 1914, Lenin, at that time a refugee in Switzerland, wrote in the *Social Demokrat*: "For us, Russian Social Democrats, there can be no doubt that, from the point of view of the toiling masses of all the Russian peoples, the lesser evil would be a defeat of the Czarist monarchy, which is the most reactionary and the most barbarous of governments, and which oppresses the largest number of nationalities and the largest mass of population in Europe and Asia." By February, 1915, he was even more positive that the defeat of Russia would be a gain for democracy: "We say: yes, we hope for the defeat of Russia because it will facilitate the internal victory of Russia—the abolition of her slavery, her liberation from the chains of Czarism." These sentiments found considerable support among the revolutionary workingmen in the towns who were weary of the struggle. There were frequent strikes in the munition factories as well as sabotage. On the battle front itself a spirit of weariness slunk into the hearts of the soldiers. Many regiments made up of urban workers fought only half-heartedly.

But the majority of the Russian people were intent upon victory. Most of the Intelligentsia, the commercial classes, and the peasants looked upon Germany as an arch-enemy that must be broken completely for the sake of peace. Though deeply dejected by the defeats of the summer of 1915, these classes still hoped for victory in the Near East, where several triumphs seemed to have placed Turkey at Russia's mercy.

THE GOVERNMENT'S STRADDLE

All was thus chaos in Russia. People were pulling in all sorts of directions. There was hunger and despair in the cities. There were clamors for victory and clamors for peace; clamors for reform and revolution, and clamors for oppression and reaction. The government carried on the war and at the same time interfered with attempts at liberal reform. It thus supported the progressives in its foreign policy and the reactionaries in its domestic policy. Such a position was shaky, and soon Prime Minister Goremykin went

toppling from his high post. He was succeeded by the equally reactionary Stürmer.

THE PARLIAMENTARY WAR

In this Babel of voices one note insistently assailed the ears of the government. The people must be represented. No longer able to withstand the pressure of the people, the Emperor at last consented to reconvene the Duma. It was a solemn session that opened on the 22nd of February, 1916. For the first time since the legislature was created the Czar attended in person. Not a member of the body, not a minister there who was not keenly aware of the grave situation the country was facing. The government tried to evade the real issue that existed between imperial and revolutionary Russia. Stürmer reported that the government would prosecute the war in full coöperation with the Allies. Foreign Minister Sazonov reiterated the old promises of Polish autonomy. But the time had come when the real issues could no longer be evaded. Cheidze, a member of the extreme Left, sprang to his feet and attacked the government so violently that his speech was suppressed for several weeks. The Entente's alleged championship of national rights and the freedom of small nationalities was sheer hypocrisy, he cried. Not only Germany but all the Great Powers were egotistical in their aims; and he and his fellow Socialists desired to join the efforts of their German and Austrian comrades to secure immediate peace—a peace in which all sides should renounce their claims to annexations and war indemnities.

The speech created a tremendous sensation. Other members of the Duma took up the attack. Day after day verbal blows rained on the government until at last it was forced to make some concessions. M. Khvostov, Minister of the Interior, was removed from office for using his office to block attempts at reform.

THE SHADOW BEHIND THE THRONE

But the attacks of the Socialists and the petty victories of the liberals had little effect on the general situation. Oppression and corruption continued to darken the lives of

the people. A heavy censorship lay heavily on the press; public opinion was gagged; the country was completely disorganized; economic life had collapsed; hunger was becoming acute; the people were starving. The masses turned to the Czar—the “Little Father”—for relief from the horrors of their existence; but his irresolute and vacillating mind was under the dark domination of one of the most shameful influences in the history of a shameful autocracy. Gregory Rasputin, an ignorant, brutal, sensuous monk of great animal magnetism, had completely turned the head of the Empress and her court. “Rasputin” means “the vicious one,” and this degenerate, posing as a holy man, so mastered the superstitious queen, that he became the privileged libertine of the court. The Russian people would have been sufficiently ashamed of his influence over the queen, even if she, in turn, had not had so powerful an influence over the Czar. But Rasputin was used as a tool by politicians, adventurers, and aliens; and through him they dictated the policy of the court which had Russia’s destiny in its hands. This whole influence was bitterly hated by all classes of the population and the Army. The Czar was implored to send Rasputin away, but that weak ruler replied: “I prefer five Rasputins to one hysterical woman.” He referred to the frenzy of the queen at the mere mention of her losing her “spiritual” adviser.

Things grew worse when the Czar decided to take personal command of his Army. The reins of government were now in the hands of the brutal Rasputin and the hysterical queen. The “holy man” began to have visions, largely inspired by German gold, which were oracles upon which the queen based her policies. This was a bitter drop for Russia. Many prominent men began to compare the land to a huge insane asylum. Army officers talked openly of murdering Rasputin. The Czar’s cousin wrote him a warning: unless Rasputin was dismissed the people would rebel. The foolish Czar listened to his wife and exiled the writer of the letter to his estates. Finally several young guardsmen lured the black monk to a supper by the promise of fair guests. There he became drunk. He began to boast of his influence at court. “Peace will soon be proclaimed!”

he cried. “I am attending to it.” They asked him to retire from the court. He refused. Then the young officers riddled his body with bullets, hustled it into a motor car, rushed it to the Neva, and stuck it into the water through a hole in the ice. The next day the body was discovered. The queen became almost mad with grief. The Czar hushed the matter up, and continued in his



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Sazonov, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Arriving in Paris

blind policy of opposing reform. And the Russian people bowed their heads in sorrow.

TREASON

The melodramatic murder of the dark monk did not open the Czar’s eyes to the true situation. Petrograd was starving. Long lines of workingmen and workingwomen straggled down the streets in front of bakers’ shops waiting for bread rations. The volcano which was revolutionary Russia was trembling in anger. The Socialists were already organizing the workers for the great day when they could strike a death-blow at the autocracy. The progressive elements

pleaded with the Czar for internal reform so that Russia could be true to her allies and take her proper share in the war. But the reactionaries urged him to make peace so that they could wipe out the revolution which was already raising its head in the streets of the capital. And the reactionary policy was making headway. On July 23, 1916, Sazonov, close friend of Great Britain and France, was forced to resign his office as Minister of

ment. There were ominous rumors of treachery spreading among the people, he said, of dark forces working on behalf of Germany which were trying to sow discord so as to prepare the ground for a shameful peace. The German and Austrian newspapers were rejoicing over the appointment of Stürmer to a post where he could play Russia into their hands. Milyukov read extracts. One paper said: "In foreign policy Stürmer is a white



Rasputin and His Admirers

Rasputin, which is not supposed to be the real name of this accomplished impostor, means a "disolute fellow." He prophesied that the Czarina would give birth to a boy, even seemed to cure the Crown Prince of certain defects, but subsequently he was assassinated, probably because of his pro-German leanings.

Foreign Affairs. In his place was appointed the reactionary and pro-German prime minister, Stürmer.

In November of the same year, the Duma met again. This body, though hampered in a hundred different ways, though gagged and emasculated by a complicated franchise, was still the voice of the people, ready to cry out Russia's agony to the world. In the death-like stillness of an attentive house, Paul M. Milyukov, leader of the liberal forces, rose to rip the mask from the face of the govern-

ment. He is undoubtedly one of those who have no particular enthusiasm for the war with Germany." Another paper said: "We Germans have no reason to regret the change. Stürmer will not hinder the desire for peace which is growing in Russia." Finally Milyukov turned upon an astounded house and accused Stürmer of corruption and treason. For several weeks this momentous speech was suppressed by the government. But it was so powerful and, apparently, so well founded that Stürmer was dismissed.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT—1917

Even this liberal victory was soon nullified. The efforts of the new premier, Trepov, to establish a national policy were so hindered by Protopopov, the reactionary Minister of the Interior, that early in 1917 he had to resign. No better example of the insane course which imperial Russia was following

was in a position which made him dictator of Russia. Under Trepov's successor, Golytsin, this madman embarked upon a deliberate policy of fomenting a revolt. The people would rise in an abortive rebellion. He would drown it in blood, as Stolypin had done in 1905. The people would crawl back to their holes, frightened, and the autocracy would have a new lease of life. With this in



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Officers Trying to Stem the Flight of Panic-Stricken Russian Soldiers

This painting, made by an eye-witness, was sketched in the thick of the fighting soon after the Russian revolution, at which time mutinous soldiers joining hands with several thousand Kronstadt sailors defied the authority of their leaders.

can be given than the appointment of Protopopov. It was known that on his return from England just before his appointment he had met a German agent at Stockholm and that ever since he had shown marked leanings toward the enemy. He had received his appointment by ingratiating himself with the dark monk Rasputin through orgies extending over several weeks. He was bankrupt and suffering from an incurable disease which affected his mind. Later he was put into an insane asylum, but at this time he

mind, he prohibited the congress of the Union of Zemstvos, arrested the workmen's delegates on the Petrograd War Industrial Committee, and annulled the municipal elections at Moscow, which gave the progressives an overwhelming victory. The Golytsin Government was the most reactionary in years. The premier himself was often quoted as saying: "The Duma will keep quiet as soon as it gets a beating." He frankly opposed all reform and used the war as a pretext. "Everything for the war," he would say. "Everything for

victory. We cannot think of internal reform now."

THE DUMA PROTESTS

In reaction against the repressive policy of Golytsin and Protopopov the people became exasperated. Their bitterness was increased by the food situation. The government campaign had broken down completely. Many towns were facing actual famine. On February 27th the Duma met to take up the press-

order to maintain itself in power. "When the fruit of great national sacrifices is exposed to risk at the hands of incapable and evil-disposed authorities, then the people declare that the Fatherland is in danger and wish to take its fate in their own control. We now approach this point." This was a threat of revolt. Even more open were the threats of the Socialists. Chaidze cried out that the government must be forced to give way to the people. In order to do that, "a



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Russian Soldiers Attending Religious Services on the French Front

Gen. Lohvitsky, Commander of all the Russians on the French front, standing bare-headed with his troops before an improvised Russian church at the altar of which a Russian priest is celebrating religious services.

ing problem of food. The premier had no plan to offer for its solution. He merely sent the Minister of Agriculture to dazzle the legislature with technical details and to assure them suavely that all was well. But all was not well, and the *Bloc* and *Left* refused to be dazzled. They replied with violent attacks on the government and the entire political system, and renewed their demands for a responsible ministry which the nation could trust with its safety. Milyukov accused the government of deliberately disorganizing the supply of food and war materials. He was aware of Protopopov's insane plans. The bureaucracy, he said, was waging war against the people in

decisive struggle is necessary—a national movement. Such a movement may develop into a revolution." Alexander Feodorovitch Kerensky, the young, high-strung, hysterical leader of the Social Revolutionary Party, whose violent speeches as yet gave no indication of a great political career, sprang up to warn the government that an upheaval was imminent. "Its lightning already illumines the horizon!" he shouted. Kerensky's speech betrayed the fact that he and his associates were planning an outbreak. Far away on the battlefield the Czar heard of all this, and sent Golytsin an undated order for the dismissal of the Duma.

THE CLOUDS IN REVOLT

By this time the threats of rebellion became more ominous than those of mere parliamentary debates. The people had begun to take things into their own hands. While the young Kerensky was speaking in the Duma, they had already begun "peaceful labor demonstrations" in the streets. The long multi-colored lines of men and women waiting for bread began to move restlessly. On Wednesday, March 7th, an old woman broke a baker's window. Others followed her example. A dark mass of people scrambled for bread. Cossack patrols cantered down the streets with dangling knouts, but there were no collisions. The next day more bakeries were stormed, chiefly in the squalid Vyborg quarters, where the workers lived in dark holes. Huge crowds swarmed in the streets thick with snow. Once more the Cossacks came trotting on their horses. A few shots rang out in the sharp March air. The government became alarmed at the turn of events. It issued a bulletin that representatives of the Duma, the Zemstvos and other public bodies would meet the next day to discuss the food situation. The people, pining for relief, went home hoping that something would be done.

By the next day everybody was aware that a sharp crisis had come. The police tried to confine the workers to their quarters, but they made long detours, crossed the ice on the River Neva, trudged their way through the snowy streets of the city till they reached the Nevsky Prospekt, the main thoroughfare. The crowd was so great that traffic was difficult. The workers began to break shopwindows. Once more the Cossacks made a show of force by charging up and down the street without using knout or saber. The crowds cheered them. Red flags were seen waving from the midst of the dense masses of people. Revolutionary and patriotic songs filled the air.

THE FINAL SCENE

On Saturday, March 10th, the crowds became more dense than ever. The workers made their way through armed troops to the center of the city. The government sent troops to protect the munitions factories from

the strikers, but most of the troops and Cossacks were reluctant to use force against the people. There was some firing. Some policemen and gendarmes were killed, and it became apparent that the workers were well organized and were acting under orders from the revolutionary organizations. In the meantime the distracted food conference had decided to place the food situation in the hands of the municipal authorities. This was a concession to the people, but no one outside the Duma knew anything about it. There were



Alexander Feodorovitch Kerensky

His career was meteoric—from the Korniloff rebellion to the November revolution—just three months, when Kerensky fled in disguise.

no papers on Sunday. The people did not know what was going on. The government, instead of taking the masses into their confidence, decided to use force. Mad Protopopov strengthened the machine-gun positions on public buildings and doubled the patrols.

REVOLUTION AT HAND

When the crowd gathered on the street corners next day—Sunday—huge posters announced to them that all gatherings would be dispersed. They laughed. None of them thought that revolution was imminent. But when troops appeared on the Nevsky Prospekt with orders to fire on the crowd, things

began to assume an ugly aspect. It was a beautiful day, and though the crowds were a little alarmed at the presence of the posters and the troops, they promenaded in the main streets of the city as if it were a quiet holiday.

undated order for dismissing the Duma. But the Duma Committee met and decided to disobey the Czar. It was a momentous decision. For the first time Russia's representative body flung a challenge in the face



Petrograd Has Its Troubles

A group of Russians watching a fire across the river in Petrograd. That city had many incendiary fires during and after the war.

But this was the calm before the storm. Both the Duma and the Revolutionists were busy. That very day the latter organized committees for starting the revolution next day. Meantime Golytsin had issued the Czar's old

of Russia's autocrat. The Committee issued a notice that rang like a battle-cry: "All deputies will remain at their posts!"

Imperial and Revolutionary Russia were on the verge of war.

ORIGIN OF THE COSSACKS

In the 13th century the Tartar chief, Genghis Khan, with his terrifying hordes of soldiers on horseback, swept from Asia into the country we now know as Russia. These horsemen, known as Kazaks, were fierce riders who were mounted on fine well-trained animals such as had never been seen before in that part of the world. The name Kazak, after the rush of the invaders had been checked, was adopted by the mounted soldiery of the Russian communities which were formed on the border lands, notably in the Ukraine. It was afterwards corrupted into Cossack, the name by which the Russian mounted trooper is known to-day. It is, then, a Tartar, not a Russian word, and recalls Napoleon's famous saying: "Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar."

The Cossack cavalry have long been a feature of the Russian army, and many are the battlefields where they have proved their mettle not only as horsemen but as fighters. As time went on, the Cossacks became a united force; they were allowed to hold land by what is known as military tenure, selecting their own hetman, or leader, and preserving their peculiar military training. At the outbreak of the World War they numbered perhaps 250,000.



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"Long Live Education for the People"

That the Russians realize the value of education for a nation's welfare is shown by this procession of children who bear banners inscribed with the above sentiment.

RUSSIA IN REVOLUTION

Kerensky Tries with Words to Continue the War; the Bolsheviki by Deeds
Force a Shameful Peace

THE Russian Revolution is the most tremendous internal explosion in all recorded history. Within a single year from its beginning the mighty Empire of the Czars, the product of centuries of historic evolution, inhabited by one hundred and seventy-five millions of people and occupying one-sixth of the entire land surface of the globe, dissolved into thin air, leaving behind nothing but a welter of anarchy. This is something unprecedented. Beside it even the French Revolution pales into relative insignificance.

FIRST PHASE: THE LIBERAL REVOLUTION

SUNDAY, March 11, 1917, was a critical day in Russia's history. An old and powerful throne was tottering in mid-air. A starving people was shaking its mighty fist under the royal nose of Czarism; and that was only the prelude to one of the greatest dramas in the history of the human race. A tremendous eruption of deep and primitive forces was imminent, fraught with the most momentous consequences for the whole world. In order that we may follow the movement of this drama more clearly, it is necessary to understand the true nature of the various actors. In this case the actors are the various elements of Revolutionary Russia. For the foes of tyranny were by no means friends among themselves. Although they were willing to unite in the common task of flinging the Romanovs from the high seats of autocracy, they were by no means agreed as to what should be substituted for them.

First there were the Cadets—liberals and moderates who wanted a constitutional monarchy and evolutionary reform. England was their model of a free country, and their whole attitude was well expressed by Professor Mil-yukov, their leader, who used to say: "Let us go slowly to go surely." Opposed to them were the different groups of Socialists who wanted a democratic republic and vast social and economic changes. Parliamentary government, they said, is not enough. Even in England and America the masses of the peo-

ple are slaves under a capitalist system of industry. Only a coöperative system of production and distribution will make men really free. Such was the general view of the Socialists, but they disagreed among themselves on two vital points: first, how much of the Socialist program should be introduced at one time; and, second, what tactics should be used for introducing it. The Socialist-Revolutionary Party, headed by Katherine Breshkovskaia, the "grandmother of the Russian Revolution," favored a milder form of Socialism, attained by legal means. One of the leaders in this party was Kerensky, a young lawyer destined to play a great rôle in the Revolution. More radical was the Social Democratic Party, which preached the doctrines of Karl Marx. But even this party was divided on the matter of tactics. The Mensheviki (meaning "minority") were opposed to the class struggle and to taking property away from capitalists without compensation. The Bolsheviki (meaning "majority"), under the leadership of Lenin, favored direct action, immediate bloody conflict with the government, no quarter to or compromise with the capitalist class, and a dictatorship of the proletariat. Such were the differences in the ranks of Revolutionary Russia.

FIRST DAY OF THE REVOLUTION

But on Sunday, March 11th, these differences were in the background. All were



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Peasant Women Bidding Farewell

Reservists assembling at a small railway station. Their wives and sweethearts have come to bid them good-bye, bringing various articles of food and clothing as parting gifts.

united to force the government to grant some reforms. We remember how starving Petrograd had already rioted, how the Duma had decided to disobey the Czar, how the entire city was heaving in a mad and bewildered protest against the dark forces of autocracy. Now, on the clear morning, the bridgeheads were thrown open and the crowds poured into the city. The streets were full of orators who passionately harangued the hungry mobs, and reminded them of the bloody war at the front and the corruption and tyranny of their rulers. From the roofs of public buildings



Katherine Breshkovskaia, the Grandmother of the Russian Revolution

As a young enthusiast she dared to express herself under the menacing tyranny of a Russian Czar; as an old woman she was brought back from Siberia under the flaming banners of revolution.

were lowered the machine guns placed by the crazy Protopopov, who had also drawn up a line of guards two miles long from the Admiralty to the Nicholas Railway Station. The crowds marched up and down the snowy streets and passed good-natured remarks to the guards. There was a kindly feeling on both sides. At about three o'clock the soldiers began to clear the streets. A company of the splendid Pavlovsky guards fired shots up the Nevsky Prospekt. Some persons began to open fire from the housetops. One guardsman fell dead, and about a hundred of the crowd were killed or wounded. The snow was soaked with dark splotches of blood.

Hundreds of empty cartridge shells were scattered among the prostrate bodies. Soon the motor ambulances came flying up the street to take care of the fallen; but still the crowds remained good-natured. A woman shouted to the soldiers: "We are sorry for you, Pavlovsky! You had to do your duty." No one in the crowd dreamed of Revolution; they were merely rioting—that was all.

Even the guards remained good-natured. The company was marched back to the barracks. On the way they collided with another crowd. The officers gave the order to fire, and the guards shot into the air, over the heads of the people. When they got back to their barracks, they began to talk the matter over. One of them had recognized his mother among the slain. Others wanted to know who had shot from the housetops and killed one of their comrades. They agreed unanimously that it was the police which was provoking bloodshed. The whole company decided to disobey their officers and to side with the people. Outside in the street, in the square in front of the statue of Alexander III, a bloody and significant incident took place. A policeman who had maltreated a worker was cut down by an army officer; the crowd cheered, seized the dead body and tore it to pieces.

Meanwhile the Duma was in a frenzy of excitement. No one knew what to do. The whole city was in pandemonium. Only Rodzianko, the President of the Duma, kept his head; he saw what was coming and, knowing that the situation might yet be saved, wired the Czar at his army headquarters: "The position is serious. There is anarchy in the capital. The government is paralyzed. The transportation of fuel and food is completely disorganized. The general dissatisfaction grows. Disorderly firing takes place in the streets. A person trusted by the country must be charged immediately to form a new ministry." But the Czar did not answer.

RED MONDAY

The next day, members of the Duma were swarming in the smoke-filled lobbies, hotly discussing the events of the previous day. Lurid accounts of Sunday's slaughter were shouted from group to group. Members ex-

pressed their indignation at the attempt to dissolve the Duma. They could not understand how the government could be so stupid as to cut itself off from the accredited representatives of the people at so crucial a moment. In the street the crowds heard that the Duma was making order out of chaos. Nevertheless, workmen sprang up everywhere to preach revolution to mobs of civilians and soldiers. The loyalty of the latter was suspected by the crazy Protopopov, so that he had a brilliant idea. The police are reliable; he will dress them up as soldiers. They will be safe from both the mob and the troops, and will be able to blaze away at the rebels. Policemen were quickly supplied with brown-gray uniforms, gray sheepskin caps, cartridge-holsters, and rifles, and hurried to the mill districts where they mowed down hundreds of workers. All the morning there was heard the rattle of musketry and machine guns. But soon the ruse was discovered. The workers and soldiers fell upon the policemen and a wholesale slaughter followed. The spirit of Revolution spread like wildfire among the troops stationed in the Vyborg quarter and around the Duma. Many of the soldiers rushed out of ranks to join their relatives among the strikers. A mutiny broke out among the battalions stationed around the Duma, and blood flowed freely. Some of the men in the Lithuanian Guards had decided to murder their officers by whom they had been treated with extreme cruelty. On parade, early that morning, several of them had rushed out of ranks with rifles at charge, spitted their captain on their bayonets, and threw his body high up into the air. Next the Volhynian Regiment, which had fired into the crowd in front of the Kazan Cathedral only yesterday, mutinied and joined the people.

"TO THE DUMA!"

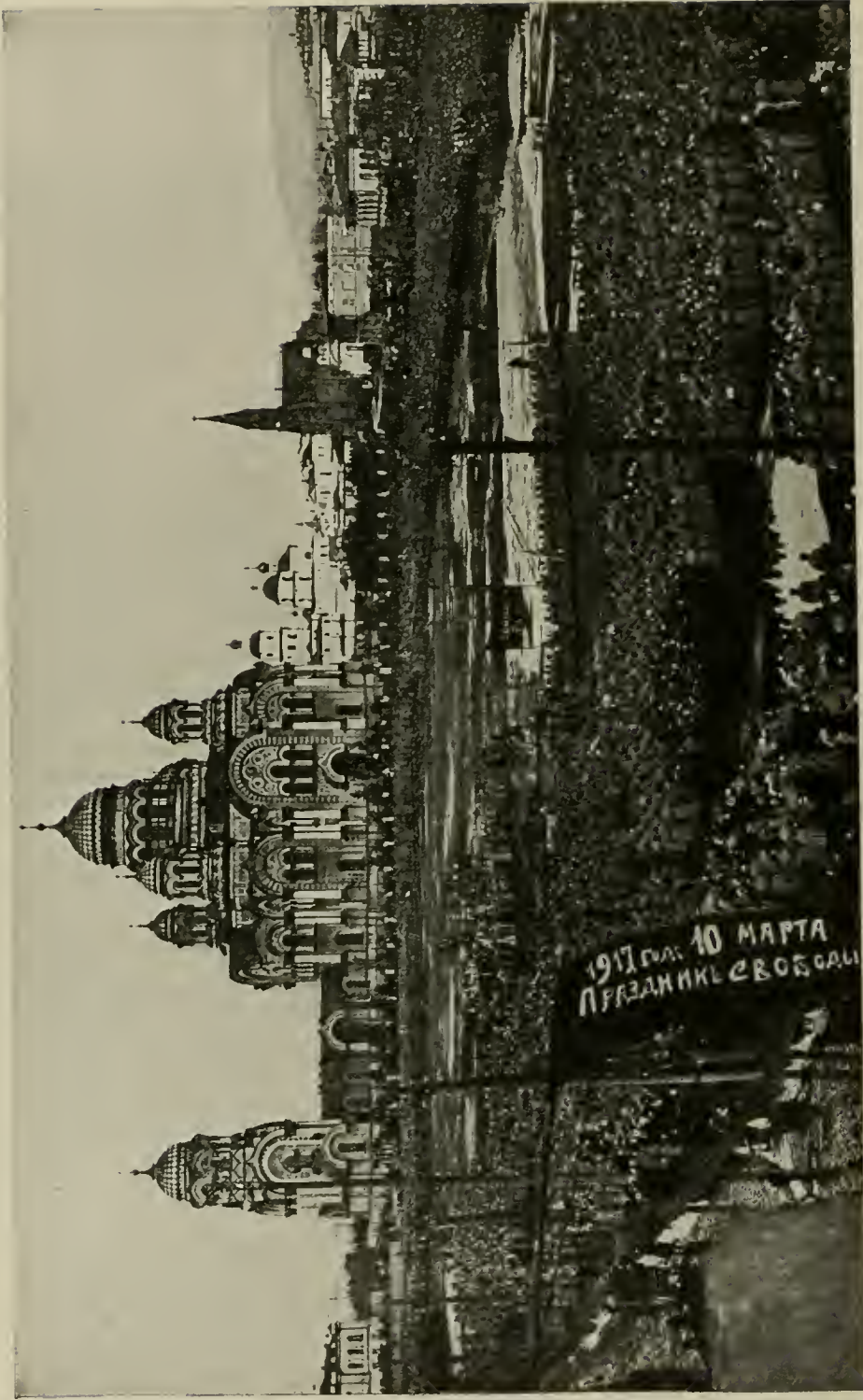
Across the deep snow, littered with dead and wounded bodies, empty cartridge shells, and broken machinery, red with the blood of workers and soldiers, rushed the rebellious troops, in a frenzied condition. They hurried in blurred detachments toward the symbol of Russian freedom—the Duma. But they had no leader. Soon a young subaltern sprang up. "To the Duma!" he shouted.

"To the Duma!" echoed the soldiers in thunder. The whole city was mad; the flames of revolt leaped up everywhere. Red flags fluttered in the frozen air, like red tongues wagging. Military lorries jammed with machine guns and soldiers with bayonets fixed rattled down the streets. From the crowds sprang up orators like so many mushrooms, exhorting the last, few, straggling supporters of the old régime to join the people, to create a new society of freedom, justice, and equality. In the midst of this raging sea of fire stood out one isle of safety; one beacon-light of sanity illumined the mad darkness in which things which were held sacred and unchangeable for centuries were being trampled under foot by simple-minded peasants and workmen. This was the Duma. To the Taurida Palace, where the Duma was meeting, regiment after regiment was swept along by a sea of passion and hope.

DARKNESS ON THE FACE OF THE DEEP

But this hope was vain. The Duma was as bewildered as the masses. It was waiting in tense anxiety for some reply from the Czar. It was frightened by the clamor of the troops outside—perhaps they were sent to disperse the assembly. The Socialists alone had a definite program. The Duma must act at once, they said. A provisional government must be formed; and a constituent assembly must be elected. But President Rodzianko was afraid to take so decided a step; he wanted to remain loyal to the Czar, so he sent another telegram to Mogilev: "The position is getting worse. Measures must be taken at once, because tomorrow it will be too late. The last hour has struck, and the fate of the Fatherland and of the dynasty is being decided."

Outside the soldiers were clamoring. The frightened members of the Duma cowered. Only Kerensky had the courage to face the troops. He rushed out into a frost fourteen degrees below zero; he wore no hat, no coat, and his thin body shivered in the biting cold. The troops cheered the young labor leader like madmen, and he made a violent, passionate speech to them. A new era was at hand! The doors of the palace were thrown open, and like an unleashed torrent the army and



Proclaiming the Kerensky Revolution at Petrograd
The words on the flag read "March 10, 1917, Celebration Day of Freedom."

the workers rushed in and took seats. Well-known speakers addressed the mob, seated in the places of authority, and conjured up a beautiful panorama of a new world to be erected on the ashes of the old. Messengers rushed in and out, relaying news to the assembled workers and soldiers. The streets, they are told, were filled with soldiers, students, Red Cross nurses, boys and girls with bandoliers improvised out of machine-gun belts. Escaped convicts had set the law courts aflame. Former agents of the *Okhrana*, the secret police organization which used to spy on revolutionists, had sacked the police department for papers recording their actions. Wild groups were building bonfires in which they were burning valuable documents—title-deeds, records, military service registers. The police stations, those strongholds of Czarism, were ablaze like mere fagots. The Fortress of SS. Peter and Paul, the Bastile of Russia, had been captured by the mob. The arsenal had been sacked. The people were wiping out the black vestiges of tyranny and oppression.

THUS HAVE THE MIGHTY FALLEN

Events moved rapidly; the government was breathing its last. At midnight a weary old man staggered into the Duma. "I have come to surrender myself," he groaned. "I am Protopopov, ex-Minister of the Interior. Take me away. I want to serve my country. You shall hear all I know." He collapsed on a sofa. Later he confessed his crimes to Kerensky, toadied to him, called him "Excellency," this violent young Socialist who had only just been a nobody. Next day, Tuesday, March 13th, other members of the government were arrested and dragged into the Minister's Room at the Taurida Palace. The pro-German traitor Stürmer was brought in, shaking like a leaf. Then came Goremykin, that old reactionary, looking as if he had just come from a masquerade ball, with his whiskers jutting out into the air from his yellow cheeks. Sukhomlinov, who had murdered thousands of Russian lads by failing to supply them with munitions, walked in with proud step and haughty head. At sight of him the soldiers hooted furiously. To appease them the old general ripped off his epaulets with his own hands. Others were dragged in,

quaking, the great criminals of the old régime. Once they used to strut about proudly in their gay uniforms. In these very halls they had denounced and bullied the men before whom they were now fawning. Only yesterday they had thundered out orders for the persecution of revolutionists, now they were sweating in fear before their slaves, calling simple soldiers "comrade."

THE LIGHT OF FREEDOM

On Wednesday, March 14th, Russia woke up to find herself free. Petrograd was completely in the hands of the revolutionaries. It seemed like a beautiful dream. People wept and shouted and laughed and danced about, kissed each other in the streets in a delirium of joy. Could it be true that the chains of autocracy had actually been snapped asunder, that Russia was their very own? Yes, it must be true. See how the crowds are flowing down the streets on this bright morning—soldiers, citizens, workingmen, young men and young women with red ribbons in their buttonholes or hats. The city is calm: the fires have been put out, the police expelled, the railways put to work again. Indeed, it was no dream, for here came Cossacks cantering on their strong chargers, singing songs of the revolution. And now regiment after regiment of troops filed past the Duma and presented its allegiance.

REFORM VS. REVOLUTION

Meantime, while the population were rejoicing over their newly won liberty, dissension already began to raise its head among the leaders of the various parties. On Monday Rodzianko had motored through streets filled with flying bullets to meet Grand Duke Michael, the Czar's next of kin, and the Ministers. "Have they heard from the Czar? No, they have no news. Well, then, the Duma can wait no longer. It will form a provisional government." Rodzianko returned to the Taurida Palace and reported. A provisional executive committee of twelve members was chosen to select a provisional government. To this the Socialists agreed, but they went on with their own plans in the meantime. They issued a manifesto to the soldiers



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The Czar Off to the Front

Here are seen the late Czar of Russia and Grand Duke Nicholas, formerly the Commander-in-Chief of the Russian armies.

and workers to elect representatives to a "Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates." The elections were carried on in great haste, great noise, and great joy. The people were swept off their feet by the feeling of power, and the Socialists saw visions of an immediate millennium.

It was on Tuesday, the 13th, that the rift between reform and revolution widened. Rodzianko and the Cadets, wishing reform, exhorted the soldiers to obey their officers. The war with Germany is still going on, they said.

electing their officers, taking away their arms, murdering them if they resisted. The Bolsheviks were exhorting the soldiers. Adhere to the Soviet quickly, they said, for there may be a counter-revolution at any moment. Suppose the Czar should return and declare himself in favor of the Duma—Russia will be a mere constitutional monarchy—it may slip back into the darkness of the old régime. Now is the time for the workers, soldiers, and peasants to seize the wealth of the country and to utilize it for their own happiness. By



Along the Canal, in Petrograd, the City of Revolutions

Russia is menaced by a dangerous enemy and discipline must be maintained in the Army. At the same time the Bolshevik leaders were circulating among the soldiers an order to disobey their officers, to take charge of arms and administration. The "Soviet" (as the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates was called) hastened to send emissaries to spread the doctrines of rebellion and Bolshevism among the sailors of the Baltic Fleet. The broken-hearted Rodzianko waited for word from the Czar which would save the country from a complete overturning; but no word came. And here the soldiers were

Wednesday the situation had grown so critical that the Duma was forced to form a Provisional Government under Prince Lvov as Prime Minister.

ALEXANDER FEODOROVICH KERENSKY

In order to conciliate the Soviet and the revolutionary elements in general, the new government tried to get one Socialist in. Only Kerensky was willing to compromise. He took the post of Minister of Justice. Alexander Feodorovich Kerensky was a young lawyer from a province in the valley of the Volga.

He was the son of a Russian schoolmaster and a German mother of Jewish descent. He had spent his early manhood amidst comfortable surroundings, but now he was a struggling lawyer specializing in political trials. He was a high strung and hysterical young man, a bold and fiery orator, but no statesman or political genius. He was a vacillating and compromising character, and for that reason had been the only Socialist who had entered the new government. Knowing that it was not very popular with the revolutionary masses, he tried to save its reputation. That night he made a fiery speech. "Comrades," he cried passionately, "Regenerated Russia will not resort to the shameful means used by the old régime. Soldiers! I ask your coöperation. Do not listen to the promptings of the agents of the old régime. Listen to your officers."

THE LAST OF THE AUTOCRATS

The new government issued a proclamation granting all the conventional liberties of Western European democracies—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of religious views, and so on. It also promised to convene as soon as possible a constitutional assembly which should give Russia a democratic government. On Thursday, March 15th, the Czar abdicated. It was a sad scene. The unhappy Nicholas met the two Duma commissioners who had come to ask him to abdicate. He was pale and careworn but calm and self-possessed. For the first time he learned the whole truth, because previously he had been deceived by the queen and her dark crew. The commissioners told him that he had no support whatever and that he had better abdicate in favor of his son Alexis. "I cannot part from my son," said the wretched emperor, who was a kind father. And so he abdicated in favor of his only brother, the Grand Duke Michael. Six days later, the man who wielded the greatest power in Christendom, who had owned 180,000,000 people body and soul, was escorted as plain Colonel Nicholas Alexandrovitch Romanov to the Imperial villa where his wife and children were already under arrest. Other members of the Romanov family and their noble retainers scampered out of the country. The

mighty tide of revolution had completely washed away the autocracy that was built on sand.

THE TRIUMPH OF LIBERALISM

By Friday, March 16th, the city of Petrograd had assumed a normal aspect. Many shops and restaurants were open once more; some mills had already begun work. The crowds went wild with joy at the news of the Czar's abdication, and began to rip up the old emblems of Czardom on palaces and private houses, and to tear down imperial eagles. But the outburst soon subsided. The people were somewhat worn out with the events of the last few days. General Kornilov, commander of the Petrograd garrison, restored order among the troops. He did all in his power to keep them loyal to the Provisional Government and immune from the teachings of Bolshevism.

Only the Socialists did not rejoice at the abdication. What is the good of it, they cried, if we have a new Czar? They wanted a democratic republic. They were mad with rage at the Czar's last order, "appointing" Lvov prime minister. Savage attacks were heaped upon Kerensky for betraying his Socialist comrades. But he knew how to compromise and he induced the Grand Duke to resign. A constitutional assembly was promised once more, and meantime the government was to remain in the hands of the liberals, representing the commercial interests and the intellectuals of the professional classes. It seemed for a while as if Russia would be made into a France, an England, an America: a *bourgeois* republic. But meantime, also, the World War was raging. What would Russia do? What could Russia do?

During the Revolution in these March days Petrograd was cut off from the world. The telegraphs had been gagged. It was not until the morning of March 16th that Western Europe was startled by the news of one of the greatest events in the history of the race, an event that ranked with the war itself in importance. People were bewildered. The overthrow of Czarism had made a breach in human society. The liberals of the whole world rejoiced. Allies and Teutons alike joined in applauding the revolutionists. All the old abuses associated for centuries with

Czarism seemed to have been swept away as if by a miracle from heaven. The slavery, poverty, and ignorance of the masses; the corruption, cruelty, and debauchery of the upper classes; the bloody massacres of the Jews; the rottenness of the bureaucracy; the horrors of the prisons and of Siberia—all these things

was the Soviet—the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates—controlled by the Social Revolutionary Party, which had the real allegiance of the people. In the Soviet there was also a sprinkling of Bolsheviki who urged even greater changes, and who were steadily gaining ground.



Announcing the Dethronement of the Czar to Russian Soldiers at the Front

would be no more. Very few people stopped to think of the effects of the Revolution on the war.

PROBLEMS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT

The Provisional Government was now faced with tremendous problems. The powerful armies of Germany were deeply entrenched in Russian territory. The state was nearly bankrupt. The means of communication had been badly crippled. Many parts of the country were starving. But the most appalling difficulty which the Liberal Government had on its hands was the dissolution of the country. Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, and other great cities had joined in the Revolution rapidly; but the masses of Russia wanted a real revolution, not the polite flourish of Liberalism. The Provisional Government, therefore, had no real hold on the country. It

CONFLICT AND COMPROMISE

Government and Soviet first clashed over the matter of war and peace. Out on the battle front the soldiers had heard of the Revolution. They cheered madly. A new day had come! They were tired of fighting for imperialistic and capitalistic rulers. They wanted to go home to get some of the land which they heard the Soviet was going to distribute. Thousands of them deserted. Those who remained began to fraternize with their German "fellow-workers," their "brothers." Bolshevik agitators swarmed in the trenches. They made seductive speeches about the rule of the masses. They controlled the Committees which had been appointed by the government to manage the regiments. Discipline was breaking down. On March 20th, the Socialist Minister of Justice, Kerensky, abolished the death penalty, and now the soldiers had

nothing to fear. Intoxicated with the cry "land and freedom," hundreds of thousands of them staggered out of the trenches and ran headlong to where a new and more beautiful world seemed to be in formation.

Cheidze, who was suavely trying to mediate between the government and the Soviet, introduced a saving clause: "Meanwhile democratic Russia will not yield to the bayonets of a conqueror." He hastened to soothe the

MILYUKOV

Meanwhile the Soviet and the government were following two different foreign policies. The Soviet demanded an immediate peace—in conjunction with Russia's Allies if possible; if not, then by Russia alone. But officially, the foreign policy was in the hands of Milyukov, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Provisional Government. He was a firm supporter of the war, an imperialist, an extreme annexationist. On March 17th he issued a statement on behalf of his government; this statement he sent to the Allied powers: "In the domain of foreign policy, the Cabinet . . . will remain mindful of the international engagements entered into by the fallen régime, and will honor Russia's word." The Soviet was furious. Was it for this that the workers and soldiers fought and bled on the Field of Mars—that Entente capitalists might use Russia's Armies for their own selfish aims, that Russia's masses must go on suffering for the corrupt promises of the tyrannical old régime? The Soviet hastened to issue a manifesto to the democracies—not the governments—of all the countries. It is addressed especially to the "German brothers of the proletariat." It calls upon them to "cast off the despotic yoke, as the people of Russia have thrown off the autocracy of Czardom." The war is the outcome of "imperialistic aspirations and capitalistic policy." The interests of the workers of all nations are identical. Thus ran the manifesto calling for peace. But



Paul Milyukov, Leader of the Constitutional Party in Russia

It was Milyukov's speech that may be said to have started the Russian Revolution. He was for four years a professor at the University of Chicago. He is a remarkable linguist.

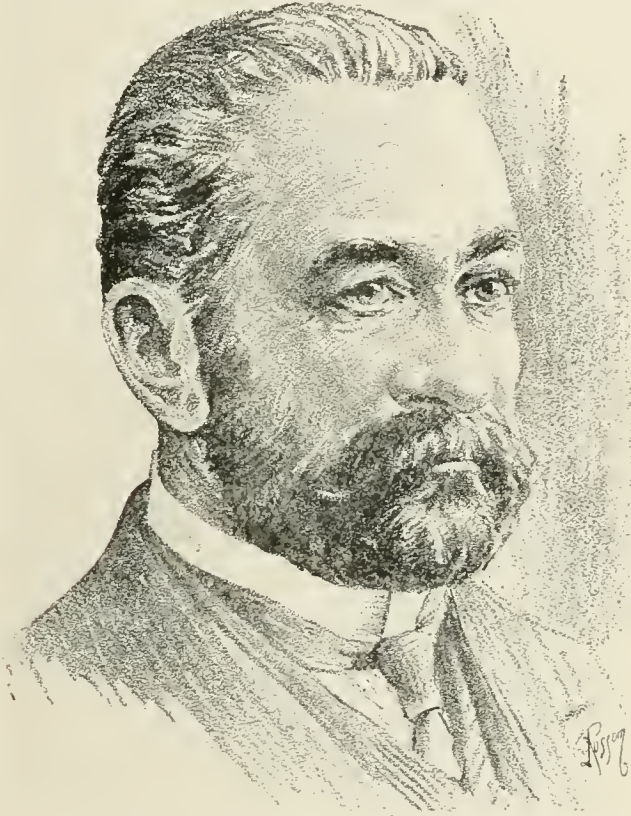
more pacifistic elements in the Soviet by explaining that as long as the German people refuse to overthrow William our bayonets must be turned against Germany." But at the front the Bolsheviks were busy, distributing pamphlets among the soldiers. "Comrades! lay down your arms and make peace with your German brothers. Return to your villages and get land and freedom!"

"NO ANNEXATIONS, NO INDEMNITIES"

In response to the powerful pressure exerted by the Soviet, Premier Lvov issued a manifesto on April 9th which was tinged by a sentiment which the Soviet had expressed in the formula "no annexations, no indemnities, self-determination for all nationalities." Let us

on the rights of nations to decide their own destiny. The Russian nation does not lust after strengthening its power abroad. Its aim is not to subjugate or humiliate any one."

On April 13th the All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates endorsed this manifesto favoring the continuation of the war but without aggressive aims. That was the work of the moderates Cheidze and Tseretelli. At the same time the more radical elements adopted an internal program which abolished all classes and titles, reorganized the system of local government, and provided for the transference of church and crown lands to the peasantry.



Prince Lvov, Russian Leader

When the Russian Revolution began in March, 1917, Prince Lvov was for a time the hope of Russia. He is a nobleman and a democrat. He worked in American railroad yards somewhat as Peter the Great labored in Holland.

forget our animosities, said the Soviet, start with a clean slate, and build up a new and better world on the ruins of the war. Influenced by this sentiment, the manifesto ran: "The government deems it to be its right and duty to declare now that Free Russia does not aim at dominating other nations, at depriving them of their national patrimony, or at occupying by force foreign territories; but that its object is to establish a durable peace, based

MILYUKOV AND THE SOVIET AT WAR

In spite of all the anti-imperialistic sentiment of the country, the annexationist Minister of Foreign Affairs was intent upon serving the interests of Russia's businessmen. On May 1st, when he submitted Premier Lvov's manifesto to the foreign governments, he added a personal note in which he assured the Allies that the Russian government is wholly in accord with their aims and that revolution has only intensified "the nation's determination to bring the world-war to a decisive victory." When this became known in Petrograd a storm broke out in full fury. Is this the government's policy of "no annexations, no indemnities?" What right had the *bourgeois* Milyukov to pledge the blood of the people to Entente imperialism? Who empowered him to saddle the Russian people with promises to fight for a barbarous, "decisive victory"? The streets swarmed once more with crowds. Demonstrations were held, denouncing Milyukov. The Bolsheviki ordered several regiments to concentrate in front of the Marie Palace, to seize Milyukov and the other Cadet ministers. About six regiments responded to the call; they gathered in front

of the palace, but had not the slightest idea of what to do. They shouted: "Down with Milyukov!" This looked like treachery, and Kerensky and other Socialists were ashamed. They came out and talked to the men, assuring them that it was all a mistake—the Soviet

the people had forever finished with imperialism and annexation. Premier Lvov invited the Socialists to share office, and, after much discussion back and forth, the moderate Socialists accepted. A new coalition ministry was formed, Prince Lvov remaining premier.



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Academy Street, Lemberg, Galicia

The high building at the left is the Chamber of Commerce.

had not issued any order. At last the men went home grumbling.

THE FALL OF THE LIBERALS

But it was clear that the Provisional Government was tottering. The Liberals could not rule the country alone. Milyukov could not possibly remain in any government, for

Kerensky was made Minister of War and Marine; Tereschenko, a suave young ex-official of the Imperial Ballet, now a Socialist, became Minister of Foreign Affairs. The fire-eating Soviet leader, Skobelev, was made Minister of Labor, and the Soviet leader, Tseretelli, took over the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs. About half the cabinet was Socialist.

RUSSIA'S PEASANT SOCIETY

One of the important factors in bringing on the Russian Revolution were the organizations of peasants which came into existence about ten years before the outbreak of the World War. These were the All-Russian Peasant Union, and later, the Group of Toil. The program of the former was to make a compact body of tillers of the soil with the avowed purpose of seizing the lands long held by the nobility and dividing them among themselves. The Group of Toil was the mouthpiece of the rural democracy, and as such took the place of the Peasants' Union when the latter was repressed by the Czar. It stood for "the right of all citizens to the land, the suppression of private ownership, and the creation of a national estate of public lands." Each peasant was to have as much land as he could cultivate unaided. Kerensky was originally one of its members.

SECOND PHASE: THE COMPROMISE REVOLUTION

IMMEDIATELY upon assuming power, the new government, which was a compromise between the Liberals and Socialists, announced its foreign policy, which was also a compromise between the desire of the Liberals to go on with the war and the desire of the Socialists to have the war end as speedily as possible. "In its foreign policy," read the announcement of the government, "the Provisional Government, rejecting, in concert with the entire people, all thought of a separate peace, adopts openly as its aim the re-establishment of a general peace which shall not tend towards either domination over other nations, or the seizure of their national possessions, or the violent usurpation of their territory—a peace without annexations or indemnities, and based upon the right of all nations to decide their own affairs." But in addition to this sentiment, the government made it clear that the war must go on. Europe was still in danger of Germany, it said. On May 20, Premier Lvov appealed to the Armies at the front to stop fraternizing with the enemy and to break off the armistice which the common soldiers had themselves established. The Soviet, which was still in the hands of the Social Revolutionary Party, made a similar appeal. The war, it said, is not desired by the people; it had been begun by the "emperors and capitalists of all countries." Nevertheless a separate peace would be disastrous to Russia and the whole world. It would give German imperialism a chance to sweep Western Europe, and then Russia itself. In that case, what would happen to the revolution? The troops were reminded that they were fighting not against revolutionists, but against the obedient slaves of "William and Charles, emperors and capitalists."

THE BATTLE FOR PEACE

At the same time the Soviet did not forget its policy of "no annexations, no indemnities," that magic phrase which had caught the im-

agination of liberals the world over. It proposed an international peace conference of the Socialist groups of all countries. It requested the foreign governments to grant passports to its Socialists, that they might go to Stockholm to bring relief to an exhausted world. The Provisional Government itself tried to get England, France, Italy, and America to revise their war aims. "Do that, promise the world that you will not use victory for barbarous and greedy annexations and indemnities, and the Russian people will trust you and fight for you." But the Allies ignored all such suggestions. They were determined upon breaking up the Central empires. If Russia, they said, does not want Constantinople, she may rest assured that no one will force her to take it, but the Allies must consider a *status quo ante bellum* equal to defeat. So the discussion dragged on wearily for seven months—and nothing came of it. . . . The Soviet addressed the Allied governments directly: "Will the war be carried on with no annexations and no indemnities as a basis? Yes or no? If yes, negotiate with the enemy for peace—at once. Russia refuses to sacrifice a single soldier for historic injustices."

LENIN: CHAMPION OF THE PROLETARIAT

It should not be forgotten that all this time a small group of Bolsheviks had been working indefatigably for a more complete revolution. They wanted a total break with the past. For this, an immediate peace—a peace at any price—was necessary. The leader of the Bolsheviks was Lenin, whose real name is Vladimir Ulianov. Lenin was a totally different man from Kerensky, being of noble birth. When he was a boy his brother was hanged by the Czar's government for revolutionary activities. The young Vladimir vowed revenge. He devoted himself to a thorough study of Karl Marx, and became one of Russia's leading economists and sociologists. While Kerensky was still at home,



Courtesy of Red Cross Magazine.

Women Soldiers of the "Battalion of Death"

The watchword of the "Battalion of Death" was "Death for the freedom and the honor of Russia," and upon this was based the discipline that held them together.



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Petrograd, Capital of the New Republic of Russia

View of the city from the dome of St. Isaac's Cathedral, the largest church in Russia.

Lenin was already treading the thorny path of the Revolutionist. In the nineties he tasted the bitterness of Siberia. After that he was an exile abroad, preaching Marxian Socialism, the class struggle, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was in 1903 that he first proclaimed the doctrines of Bolshevism at a party conference at Stockholm. He was the guiding spirit of the first Soviet in 1905. As he advanced in age he grew more and more uncompromising in his straight-laced Marxian doctrines. In tactics he described himself as a "realist"; the end justifies the means, and to bring freedom to the proletariat

of the world he would adopt any methods that seemed likely to succeed. It was on this principle that he used German money to foment the Revolution. Now he was directing the Bolshevik forces from a villa which used to belong to one of the Czar's mistresses.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE MODERATE SOCIALISTS

The Socialist Revolutionaries and the Bolsheviks were struggling for mastery, for control of the Soviet and of the local governments. The municipal elections of June gave the moderate Socialists an overwhelming ma-

jority. In the same months a great All-Russian Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates convened at Petrograd. It was completely controlled by the Moderates. Chaidze was in the chair. The chief speakers were Tseretelli and Kerensky. Lenin also spoke; but he was neglected, for his time had not yet come. Skobelev, the radical Minister of Labor, stirred up the workers to take over the profits of the mills; the landowner Chernov, Minister of Agriculture, told the peasants to seize the lands—and at the same time sent troops to see that his lands were not confiscated. Kerensky himself rolled about in the Emperor's carriages and motor cars, drank royal champagne, ate out of the Czar's gold plate, arranged gay festivals at the Winter Palace. Far away, in the country districts—so reports said—the peasants were pillaging manor houses, destroying farms, maiming cattle, slaughtering the landlords who used to torture them. The Zemstvos were no more; they were replaced by "republics" or "soviets." The soldiers were gambling, drinking, and dancing. Everybody felt strangely free and exhilarated. All were called *tavarish*—comrade. Even Kerensky himself was "Tavarish Minister."

THE COLLAPSE OF THE FIGHTING FORCES

Meanwhile the world kept on asking: what is going to happen to Russia's Armies? Are they going to leave the Allies in the lurch, to be trampled under foot by the Teuton hordes? Through the whole month of July the effect of Bolshevik propaganda became apparent. Soldiers were deserting, laying down their arms, running away in battle. Whole regiments of commissioned officers were formed to face certain death in order to shame the soldiers into fighting; but the soldiers laughed. Hysterical women of strong physique and patriotic fervor formed a "Battalion of Death" and were actually allowed to fight. Still the weary, overstrained soldiers swarmed out of the trenches and wandered home to get "land and freedom." At Helsingfors and Kronstadt the Baltic Fleet continued its atrocities against its officers. From the very beginning of the Revolution the Bolsheviks had captured the allegiance of the crews. The sailors had been told that their officers were

in league with the counter-revolution. In a frenzy of rage the sailors began to shoot their officers and thrust many of them alive under the ice. Then they proceeded to elect new officers, who treated them as comrades. Among the officers of the old régime who made their escape was Admiral Kolchak, who later became the ruler of Siberia. Kronstadt became the military headquarters of the Bolsheviks.

THE JULY REBELLION

Bolshevik aspirations began to appear everywhere. The masses did not want, so it seemed, a half-revolution; they cried for a complete break with the past. Kerensky madly tried to stay the rising flood. He cried to the people: "You are on the very edge! You are not free men but mutinous slaves." But the people would not listen; they wanted peace, bread, land, and freedom. On the battle front, General Kornilov, who was commander of the Petrograd garrison in March and whom Kerensky made Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies, started an offensive against the Germans. But the Bolsheviks were everywhere. The lives of the soldiers, they said, should be in their own hands. Meetings were held to decide on each order, whether or not it should be obeyed. Speeches were held in the trenches, under the fire of the enemy. "Comrades! the war is insane. Let us have peace! Let us go home!" And the soldiers listened to the agitators. One after another the regiments refused to fight. Some of them fired a few shots and at sight of the enemy fled in panic. Kornilov ordered the loyal artillery to mow down the fleeing soldiers—thousands of Russians were killed by their own men.

The government was distracted. "The war must go on; but the men refuse to fight; what shall we do?" An order was issued to disband the mutinous regiments. This was the chance for the Bolsheviks. Agitators sprang up once more in the streets of Petrograd. "So this is freedom? The government is suppressing the people! Kerensky is the enemy of the masses!" For the first time since the Revolution Cossacks patrolled the streets once more. The government drowned the Bolshevik uprising in blood. In disgust at the whole business, the non-Socialist members of the Provisional Gov-

ernment resigned and Kerensky was empowered by the Soviet to form a cabinet. He became premier and made up a cabinet consisting entirely of Social Revolutionaries. The Soviets voted full power to Kerensky and the world waited breathlessly. Will Russia break up the march of the Hun now? Will Kerensky prove to be a new Napoleon?

KERENSKY: THE HOPE OF THE WORLD

The war party in Russia and the outside world looked with hope upon Kerensky to

the salvation of the Revolution. We have acknowledged its unlimited authority and its unlimited power. Its commands must be law. All those who disobey the commands of the provisional government in battle will be regarded as traitors. Towards traitors and cowards no mercy will be shown. Fellow soldiers at the front! You want a durable peace. You want your lands, your freedom. Then you must know that only by a stubborn struggle will you win peace for Russia and all nations. Yielding before the troops of the German Emperor you lose both your lands



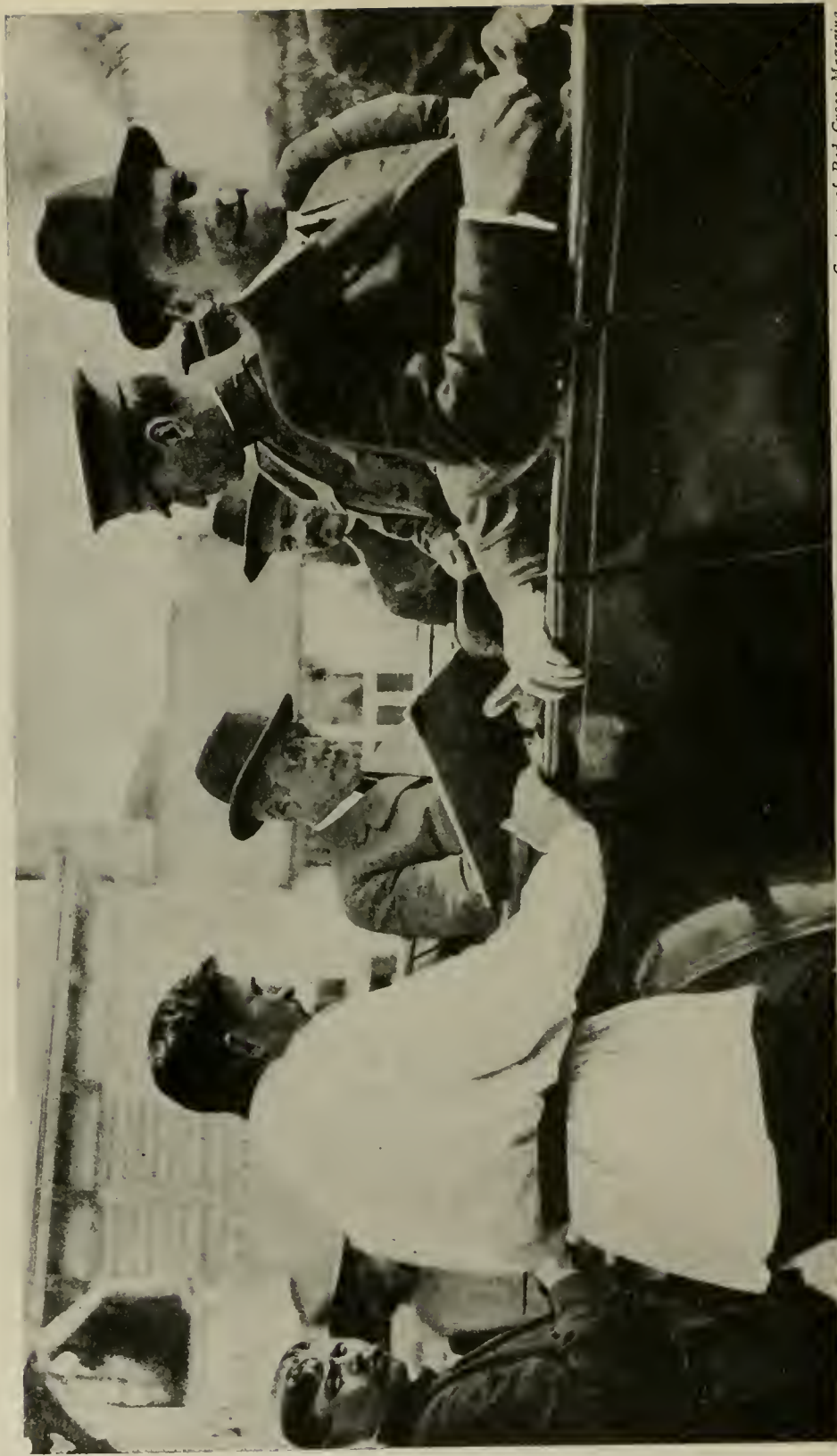
A Bolshevik Agitator in Petrograd

save the situation for the Allies. They began to play him up as a new savior. Allied newspapers vied with each other in admiring his ceaseless flow of speech—his earnest and passionate personality. Columns were filled with descriptions of this frail person with the ghastly white face, gaunt cheeks, deep, black, lustrous eyes who seemed to be capable of stirring Russia by his wonderful oratory to gigantic effort against Germany. His speech was certainly martial. "The new government must immediately stop the retreat!" He had the complete control of the Soviet, and that body issued a stirring appeal to the soldiers: "We have acknowledged the provincial government. With this government lies

and your freedom. . . . Fellow soldiers at the front! Let there be no traitors or cowards amongst you. Let not one of you retreat a single step before the foe. Only one way is open to you—the way forward!" Kerensky himself rushed to the front. He was in uniform—for he was somewhat vain. He made fervid speeches urging the soldiers to fight. On one occasion he went over the top and led a handful of troops into battle.

THE VACILLATING KERENSKY

Kerensky was the dictator of Russia. His fiery oratory had a deep appeal to the masses; and yet the soldiers continued to flee, and the



Mr. Elihu Root in Moscow

An American Mission was dispatched to Russia under Mr. Root soon after the overthrow of the Monarchy to enable the young Republic to profit by the experience of the older one. It met with no success.

masses were crying for peace. Kerensky, unfortunately, was essentially a man of words. He could make fine speeches, but in action he was uncertain, wavering. And so he began to lose ground. In Galicia the Russian troops were being hurled back; Bolshevik propaganda had sapped their morale. The resolute Kornilov had revived the death penalty for deserters and succeeded by that measure in arresting the tidal advance of the enemy. He forbade political meetings in the trenches. He pleaded with the government at home to do the same for the reserve troops and the railway workers, and in this plea the Socialist Minister of War, Savinko, supported him. The issue had become clear: Bolshevism or Kornilov? The brave-worded Prime Minister wavered. Kornilov appealed again, and his appeals were supported by the other generals. The Allied newspapers, seeing that Kerensky was too weak for a dictatorship, began to play up Kornilov as a new Napoleon. They were not interested in the Revolution but in the war. Cries came from all sides: "A dictator! A dictator!" The Germans

were about to move on Riga, to bottle up the Baltic, and Kornilov made another frenzied appeal for support. At last Savinko invited him to come to the capital and report to the Council of Ministers. Of this invitation Kerensky was ignorant, and when he learned of it he became furious. He requested Savinko to resign. What right had he to invite the man who threatened to become a formidable rival for the supreme power? Kornilov, however, was not interested in Kerensky's fury. He appeared before the Council and unfolded his anxieties. He hinted that a counter-move against the Germans might be advisable.

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

Kornilov had begun to loom up as a possible dictator, and Kerensky, jealous of his power, immediately took steps to strengthen his own position. He called a popular conference at Moscow to be attended by representatives of all the four Dumas, the Zemstvos, the Towns, the Coöperatives, the Soviets,



A Scene in Red Square, Moscow

Where Kerensky met political defeat at the hands of Kornilov.

the Committees, military and social organizations, landowners, officers, Knights of St. George: a strange collection symptomatic of the compromising character of the man who called the conference. On the day before the great event, he had it circulated in Moscow that (although everybody of importance would be there) Kornilov would be "too busy" to come. But that very afternoon the Cossack chieftain arrived, attended by his faithful bodyguard of Turcomans. Huge crowds gathered to see him, and they cheered loudly. At that moment Kerensky was coming out of the Imperial apartments to take a drive in one of the Czar's motor cars. Hearing the cheers, he immediately ordered his chauffeur to drive in the opposite direction. Later he called up Kornilov and begged him not to speak at the conference. But Kornilov insisted that he would talk, although he promised not to discuss politics—only the army. Kerensky could find no ready reply and hung up the receiver. This rather worried Kornilov. He feared he might be arrested, and redoubled his guard.

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

The next day the Grand Theater of Moscow was jammed with celebrities. The conference was in session. Behind the scenes the Bolsheviks were busy; as usual they did not trust to pretty words. *They* believed in deeds. This time they had chosen to show their power by calling a strike of tram-cars and restaurants. Kerensky opened the conference, and immediately it became apparent that a brief period of distatorship had turned the head of that verbose and hysterical young man. He was obviously afflicted with a mania of grandeur and acted and talked like an autocrat. For two hours he kept two poor soldiers standing at attention behind his chair. He still wore the khaki uniform and leather puttees he had affected when he first became Minister of War. Now he began to deliver a long and violent speech. He was the Supreme Power, he declared. Anybody who dared to wrest the scepter (he actually used the imperial formula "our scepter") from his grasp would be crushed. He will ruthlessly suppress all attempts against "our power" with "blood and iron." The country and the Revolution



General Kornilov

He headed the counter-revolution in September, 1917, and marched on Petrograd.

are in deadly peril. Everybody must help him. He and he alone can save the situation "even if I lose my soul in the attempt."

Then General Kornilov took the floor. Calmly he depicted the agony of Russia's Armies; of discipline sapped; of starving ranks; of a foe thundering at the gates of Riga. Would the people wait until the Germans are actually in Petrograd before they put to death the traitors who are handing the country over to the foe? When he was done, the audience seemed to be about equally divided between Kerensky and Kornilov. Then General Kaledin sprang up. 'The Cossacks, he cried, are opposed to further delay. They want to get at the enemy at once! General

Alexeiev followed, and mercilessly rebuked the disciples of indiscipline. All this was too much for the autocratic Kerensky. "We have invited you to state your opinions," he shouted to the generals, white with rage. "We do not permit you to proffer advice or dictation!"

And so the conference broke up and nothing was done.

THE KORNILOV REBELLION

In his vanity and self-delusion Kerensky went back to Petrograd thinking he had won a great political victory at the Moscow Conference. But nothing was further from the truth. The Allied statesmen and editors, who had just recently been calling him a second Napoleon, a savior of Russia, now turned away from him and lent their support to Kornilov, who seemed more willing and able to carry on the struggle against the Germans. The business men of Russia raised a cry for Kornilov to become dictator and save the country from the enemy. At the same time the Bolsheviks, seeing that the country was about to slide back into a new autocracy, were preparing for another uprising to save the Revolution. Once more the question which burned with lurid flame through the whole land was: Kornilov or the Bolsheviks? Kerensky must side with one or the other, or else be swept away by the mighty tide of revolution or reaction. As usual, the blind young lawyer swayed from side to side. Finally he began to feel that Bolshevism was the greater of the two evils. Its menace was looming larger and larger. Now came positive news that a Bolshevik uprising was imminent. Already the Lenin group had three divisions of cavalry ready. Kerensky decided to call on the reactionary Cossack chieftain for help against the Bolsheviks.

The story of subsequent events is hotly disputed. Kornilov supporters insist that the following is the true tale: Kerensky sent Vladimir Lvov with a triple proposal. Let Kornilov choose one of these methods of solving the critical problem: (1) the complete withdrawal of Kerensky from the government; (2) the participation of Kerensky in the government; (3) a Kornilov dictatorship. The general chose the last. Next day, according to his version of the story, Kerensky suddenly

changed his mind. He gave no reason. He immediately ordered the arrest of Lvov and the resignation of Kornilov from his command. Kornilov refused to resign. Under the pretext that the Bolsheviks were about to seize the government, he prepared to march upon the capital, declare himself dictator, and save Russia from internal ruin and external defeat. On the other hand, the Bolsheviks claim that Kerensky deliberately fomented the Kornilov rebellion in order to checkmate the Leninites. Whatever the real version may be, Russia was actually faced by a dark crisis. All the fruits of the Revolution seemed to be at stake. The reactionaries and business men, eager to have the Revolution end, rushed to Kornilov's support; the Socialists of all groups closed ranks in defense against this dangerous adventure.

THE SOVIETS TO THE RESCUE

It was at this juncture of Russia's chaotic life that the real power in the country appeared. It was not Kerensky, and it *was* the Soviet. To be more exact—it was the Bolsheviks in the Soviet. Kerensky was at the Winter Palace, wavering, vacillating, swaying from policy to policy, compromising or trying to compromise between Socialism and the Allies. The Bolsheviks were at the Smolny Institute—formerly a girls' finishing school. From there radiated their definite policy of turning over land, factories, and government to the masses. And the Soviets were gradually swinging into line behind this only resolute, clear-headed force. Kerensky was trying to restore "law and order and discipline." The people cared not a bit about law and order and discipline. They wanted bread and land and peace. The Soviets stood for that. And the Soviets were the real power in Russia. They were obeyed. And now, as the Kornilov danger loomed up, it was the Soviet that rose to the rescue of the Revolution. Kornilov arrived in Pskov on his way to Petrograd with only 40,000 men. Kerensky, the man of words, issued a proclamation, and nothing more. The Bolsheviks in Smolny Institute acted vigorously, ordering sailors to come from Kronstadt, their headquarters. They bivouacked troops in the Field of Mars, and placed machine guns on the public buildings of Petrograd. They dug



Russian Battery Checking Advancing Germans

These men protected the retreat of a Russian army before Hindenburg's legions. The Russian soldier before the Revolution was the equal of any in Europe.

trenches in front of the city, and sent their sailors to the Winter Palace itself to dismiss the troops guarding Kerensky and to guard the premier themselves. Far more important than all these preparations, from Smolny Institute the Bolsheviks sent out words, propaganda, arguments which their men were to use against the enemy. Next morning a miracle happened. The Bolsheviks met the troops of Kornilov, and not a shot was fired. Only a combat of words followed; the Bolshevik sailors only talked, exhorted, argued, plead. Even the All-Mohammedan Soviet had sent delegates to have a philosophical discussion with the "Savage Division" of Mohammedans in Kornilov's army. And such was the magic influence of the Revolution, that the Kornilov

troops refused to fight. It was a bloodless victory for the revolution, for the Soviet, for the Bolsheviks.

In the Winter Palace the egotistic Kerensky imagined he had won another victory. He declared himself Commander-in-Chief in Kornilov's place, and ordered the Cossack chieftain's arrest. Kornilov was imprisoned, but while awaiting trial he escaped. In order to prevent any further ambitions to break up the Revolution, Kerensky declared Russia a republic on September 15th. So Russia had passed safely over another crisis. But the real crisis was as bitter, as mysterious, as portentous as ever. What next? the people were asking. What of the war? What of the Revolution?

THIRD PHASE: THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

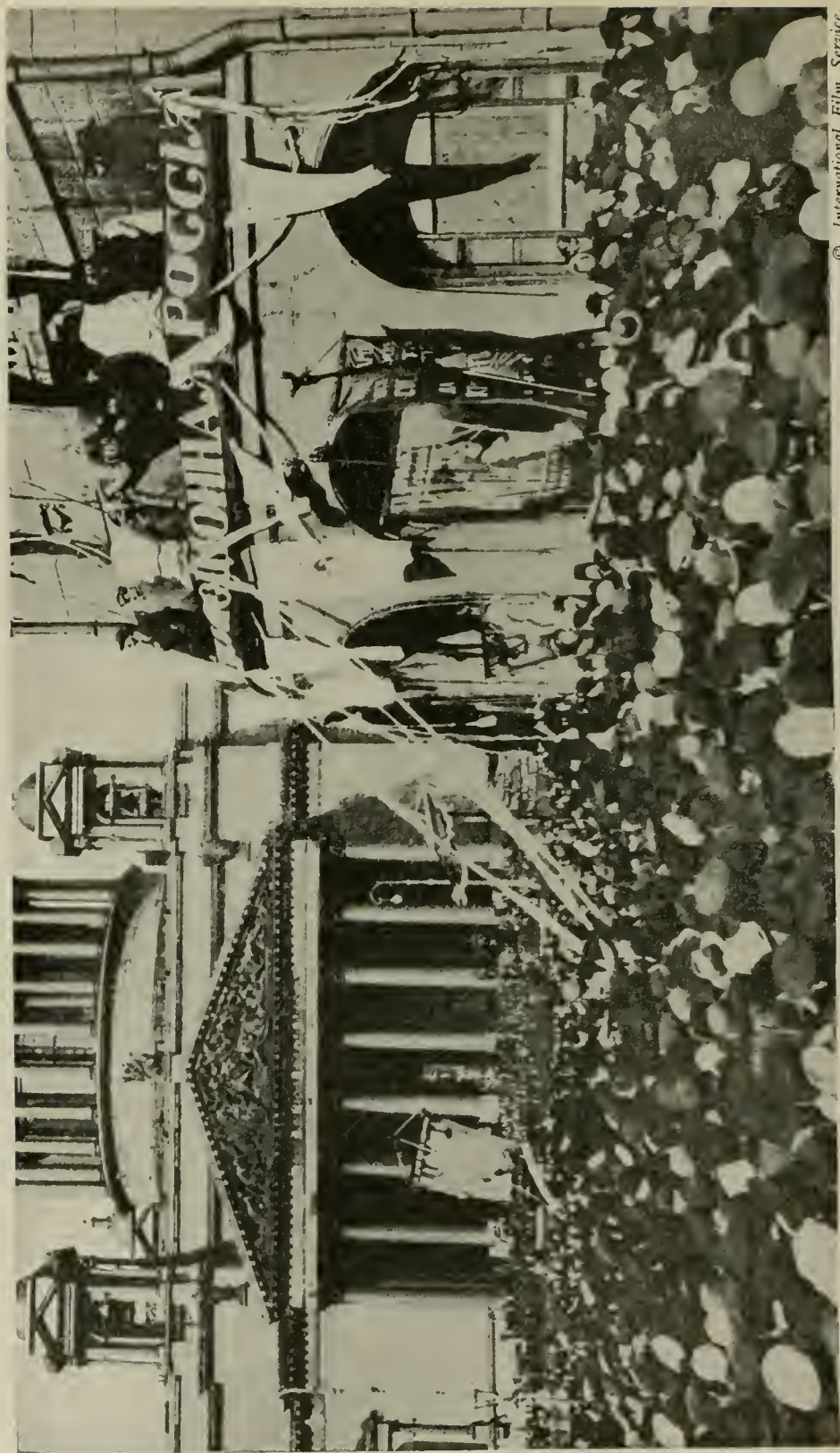
BY the end of September, 1917, the workers, soldiers, and peasants had become more and more revolutionary; the business men, Intelligentsia, and Moderate Socialists more and more conservative. The latter thought things had gone far enough. It was time for them to settle down. But the workers, soldiers, and peasants thought that things had only started. They were restless and discontented. Some of the old abuses were still going on. Many officers were still treating their men as if they were beasts. Many land committees were being jailed by provincial authorities for giving land to peasants in accordance with government regulations. Many Revolutionists were being imprisoned for acts committed in 1905. The people grumbled. Now and then the Kerensky Socialists would say: wait, wait—soon we shall call together the Constitutional Assembly and then all will be well. But the Assembly was postponed, postponed, postponed. The Revolution had gone on for eight months, and still the people had nothing to show for it. Where was the "land, bread and peace" they had been promised?

The business men and other *bourgeoisie* of Russia were also dissatisfied, but for quite other reasons. They wanted the war to go

on, and the Revolution was interfering with the war. At the front the armies were starving and freezing and deserting. There was no enthusiasm, no fighting. Oh, if somebody would only bring in law and order—even if it is the Germans—let them come! . . .

THE PEACE MOVEMENT

And over and above all things the cry for peace flew across the country like a swift tornado. Millions and millions of workers, soldiers, and peasants shouted in unison, day after day, "Peace! Peace!" The cities and villages were filled with people who talked about it. Soldiers addressed huge mass meetings. Here is one now, speaking in a dimly-lighted hall in Petrograd: "Comrades! The people at the top are always calling upon us to sacrifice more and sacrifice more, while those who have everything are left unmolested. We are at war with Germany. Would we invite German generals to serve on our staff? Well, we are at war with the capitalists, too, and yet we invite them into our government. . . . The soldier says: 'Show me what I am fighting for. Is it Constantinople or is it Free Russia? Is it the democracy or is it the capitalist plunderers?'



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Russian "Soap Box" Orators in Petrograd

A great deal of the turmoil which was an aftermath of the revolution was due to the incendiary and treasonable utterances of pro-Germans who harangued the excited multitudes on all occasions.

If you can prove to me that I am defending the Revolution then I'll go out and fight without capital punishment to force me. When the land belongs to the peasant and the factories to the workers and the power to the Soviets, then we'll know we have something to fight for, and we'll fight for it!" . . .

party forever. A congress of delegates of the Baltic Fleet at Helsingfors adopted a resolution: "We demand the immediate removal from the ranks of the Provisional Government of the 'Socialist,' the political adventurer Kerensky, as one who is scandalizing and ruining the great revolution, and with it the revolu-



The Tauris Palace, Petrograd, the Seat of the Duma

Here, in the exciting days of March, 1917, the government of the Romanoffs was overthrown.

BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIAN

Both on the question of war and peace, and the question of the Revolution, the 7 per cent. of the Russian people which made up the upper classes and the 93 per cent. which made up the workers, soldiers, and peasants were bitterly opposed. The 7 per cent. wanted "law and order" and victory. Most of the 93 per cent. wanted the land for the peasants, the factory for the workers, out and out Socialism, and peace. These things they wanted at once. The upper classes were declared counter-revolutionary and suspect. Kerensky was trying to mediate between the two classes. He thought it necessary to cooperate with the propertied classes. The 93 per cent. did not think so. Kerensky proceeded to form a coalition cabinet with the propertied classes. The 93 per cent. lost confidence in him and his

tionary masses, by his shameless political blackmail on behalf of the *bourgeoisie*."

THE BOLSHEVIKI AND THE MASSES

In this babel of voices crying for peace, for land, for bread one voice rang out clearly. It was that of the Bolsheviks. They knew what to do. "All power to the Soviets!" It was a magic formula. "All power to the Soviets!" Let the direct representatives of millions upon millions of workers, soldiers, and peasants decide the destiny of Russia. It would give the people land, bread, and put an end to the insane war, an end to secret diplomacy and treachery. In July the Bolsheviks were hounded like wild beasts. In October the people were swinging in their direction. The Bolsheviks knew what the people wanted. For one thing they wanted peace. All



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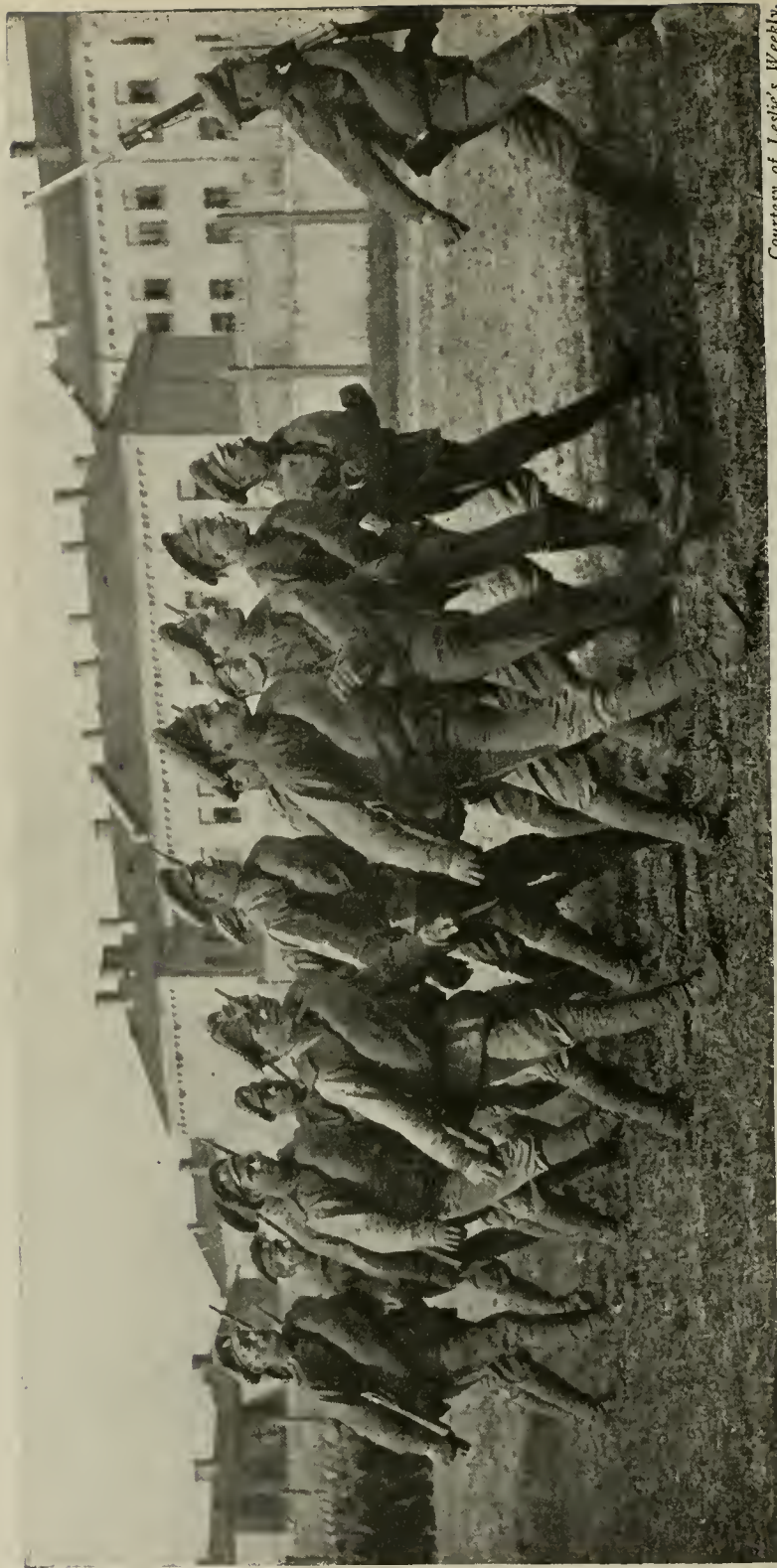
The Russian Mission to the United States

over the country Bolshevik newspapers, pamphlets, and agents were spreading the gospel of peace and internationalism, and the people listened to their seductive, simple, almost childlike appeals: "Who made us fight? The Czar. What did the Czar want? The Dardanelles. What do we care about the Dardanelles? Nothing. Why do the Germans fight? Because the Kaiser makes them. Why do the Allies fight? Because their rulers make them by conscription. What do their rulers want? They want Syria for France, and Mesopotamia for England, and some Greek islands for Italy. When we ask them why, when we ask them to speak their full mind, they say this is no time for speaking. We will speak. We will speak to everybody. We will speak to the Germans. They are workers and peasants, too. Nine out of ten of them are workers and peasants. We do not want their land. They do not want ours. We will speak to them and tell them what is in our hearts. They will not fight us any more? Why should they?" This simple appeal—silly though it may appear—struck deep into the heart of the simple, war-weary peasant. He wanted to be sure that the Allies were fighting for good aims before he would suffer for them. Colonel Raymond Robins related how throughout his travels in Russia the same tone of passionate appeal came from the mouths of workers, soldiers, and peasants: "Comrade, why do not the Allies, why does not America, make a full and frank and direct reply to the questions asked by Russia regarding the aims of the war?" A gigantic tide of emotion was sweeping the people toward peace, and the Bolsheviks were riding on the waves.

KERENSKY MAKES WAR ON THE SOVIETS

By October the Russian people were about equally divided between Kerensky and Lenin. But they were unanimous on one point. All power must go to the Soviets. Had Kerensky used his position and influence and placed himself at the head of the Soviets he might have saved both himself and the Russian Armies. As usual he vacillated. He was afraid that the Allies would not recognize the Soviets, and he wanted to please the Allies. The elections, held soon after the Kornilov

fiasco, had given the Bolsheviks overwhelming majorities in the Soviets of Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa and other large centers. Kerensky and his clique of Moderate Socialists and the *bourgeoisie* began to tremble at the ever-increasing power of Lenin. And Kerensky made the foolish mistake of declaring war on the Soviets. He rushed to form a Provisional Council of the Russian Republic. This was controlled almost wholly by the *bourgeois* elements. The Bolsheviks were enraged. They replied, as usual, not in words but in deeds. They called upon all the Russian Soviets to meet at Petrograd on November 2nd to take over the government into their own hands. At the same time they withdrew from the Council, which they branded publicly as a "government of treason to the people." The situation began to look bad even to the blind Kerensky. If he could only turn the attention of the people toward the front! To do this he must convince them that the aims of the Allies are not selfish. An opportunity presents itself in the Paris Conference. He sends two delegates. Alas! The Paris Conference makes it plain that it will not discuss the aims of the war at all, but only the best methods of conducting it. The Russian people were bitterly incensed against Kerensky. That is what comes of compromising with capitalists! Once more millions of soldiers, workmen, and peasants take up the cry, "Peace! Peace!" The Kerensky government began to totter, and immediately sought to escape its doom by leaving Petrograd, the hot-bed of Bolshevism. But the people shouted their disapproval, and Kerensky had to give up the plan. Once more he had to resort to his old tricks—words and hysterics. He rushed to the Council to plead passionately for national unity, and burst into tears. The revolutionary elements listened to him coldly and interrupted him with ironical remarks. Meanwhile the Bolsheviks were again resorting to deeds. They were hastily organizing the election of an All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Petrograd was full of rumors that they were planning an uprising to seize the government by violence. Kerensky and the Moderates trembled. They implored the people not to listen to the extremist agitators. All over the city their placards almost weep from the walls.



Courtesy of Leslie's Weekly.

Waiting for Dead Men's Rifles

These Russians were photographed just as they started for the front. Only part of them had rifles; the others carried guns dropped by dead comrades. An authority on military affairs in Russia stated that at the beginning of the war Russia had between six and seven million rifles—but half that number were lost during the first year of the war.

LENIN URGES INSURRECTION

Amidst the chaos caused by Kerensky's vacillation and by the propaganda of the Bolsheviks, Lenin stood up with a ruthless but definite policy. In a "Letter to the Comrades," one of the most audacious pieces of political writing in the history of the world, he called for an armed uprising of the lower classes. "Either we must abandon our slo-

Petrograd were alarmed at the feverish activity of the Bolsheviks. They expected an insurrection at any moment. Once more the streets were choked with crowds. The whole city was in an uproar. At Smolny, guards were watching all entrances, the committee rooms were buzzing like hives, hundreds of workers and soldiers were sleeping on the floor, where they had dropped from sheer fatigue. Through the city the Dark Forces



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Germans Who Were Taken Prisoners by the Russians

Thousands of the Kaiser's troops fell into the hands of the Russians in August, 1914. These and other German prisoners were released under the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

gan 'all power to the Soviets' or else we must make an insurrection. There is no middle course." . . . Thus ran the iron logic of this intellectual machine called Lenin. Many of his own associates opposed him, but he was obdurate. He had his way. Under the volcanic speeches of his right hand man, Leon Trotsky, the Red Guard was drilling enthusiastically. Factories and committee rooms were filled with rifles. Meetings were held in the barracks every night, and all day long hot arguments were waged. The people of

of reaction were hurrying to and fro, urging the people to massacre the Jews and the Socialists. The monarchists were calling upon the government to repress the whole disturbance in blood, and put an end once and for all, to the Revolution. The Bolshevik agitators were scuttling from barrack to barrack, from factory to factory, preaching "All power to the Soviets! All power to the Soviets!" And above all this turmoil the strong voice of Lenin: "Insurrection! . . . We can wait no longer! . . ."



A Group of Russian Radicals

The women of Russia, who suffered with their husbands, sons and fathers from Russian autocracy, became as radical as the men when Revolution swept their country.

THE FALL OF KERENSKY

On November 7th the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets was supposed to meet. Petrograd heard that the Bolsheviks were planning to rebel that day, seize the power of government, hand it over to the Soviets and say: "Here is the power! What are you going to do with it?" And it was precisely that which the Bolsheviks were planning. Kerensky was finally roused out of his lethargy. He shut down two Bolshevik newspapers, the *Rabotchi Put* and *Soldat*. He prepared artillery in the Winter Palace. He sent out Cossacks to patrol the streets. But the Peter and Paul garrison went over to the Bolsheviks, and that was bad for the Provisional Government.

Four o'clock in the morning of November 6th the Bolsheviks began to move. Red Guards hustled out of Smolny in the cold, gray dawn, captured the Telephone Exchange, the Baltic Station, the Telegraph Agency. A little later the suppressed *Rabotchi Put* began the customary verbal bombardment which accompanies all Bolshevik offensives. Huge headlines screamed out to the bewildered populace: "All power to the Soviets of Workers, Soldiers, and Peasants! Peace! Bread! Land!" Soon a detachment of Bolshevik sailors rushed into the Marinsky Palace, where the Council of the Russian Republic met. One of them, a giant, sauntered up to the chairman brandishing a revolver: "No more Council. Run along home now." And that finished the Council. Outside the streets were black with Bolshevik soldiers and sailors. They marched toward the Winter Palace, and took it without any bloodshed. They searched through the rooms for Kerensky, but the Premier was gone. The Bolshevik troops poured into the palace. They arrested what ministers they could find. A handful of women of the Battalion of Death put up a fight, but were overpowered.

. . . All night long the Congress of Soviets met. On the platform, dominating the assembly for the last time, sat the presidium of the Socialist Revolutionary Party. The three greatest of them were missing: Kerensky, Cheidze, Tseretelli. Now elections were held, and an overwhelming majority of the votes went to the Bolsheviks. They, who

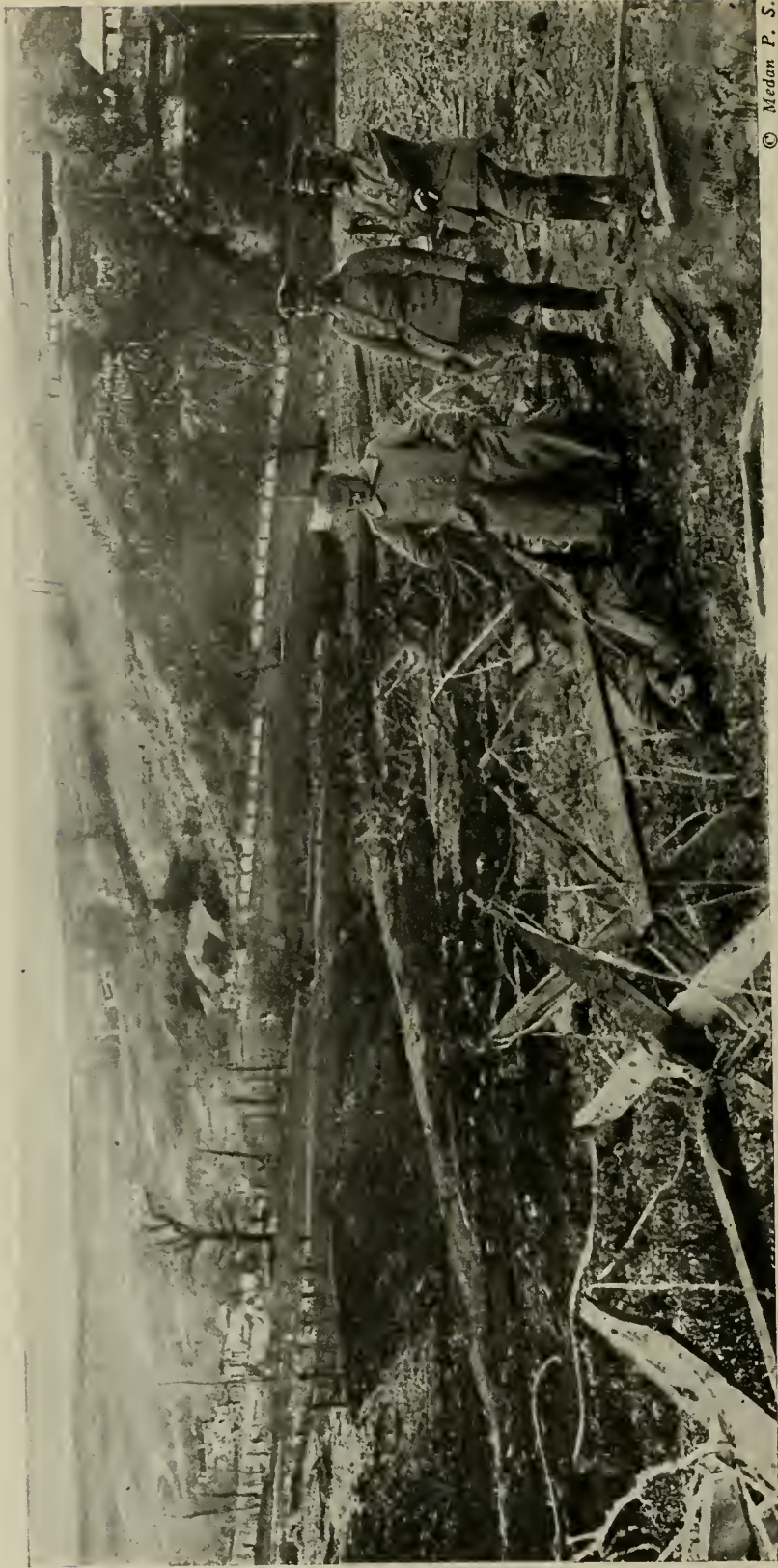
only a few months ago were hounded and despised, driven into hiding like rats in the holes of Vyborg Quarter, now rose in the full swing of insurrection to grasp the supreme power of Russia. The hall thundered applause, like a mad cloudburst, as the new presidium ascended the platform: Trotsky, Kamenev, Lunacharsky, Madame Kollontai. Kamenev rose to announce the program of his party. Just as he began to speak, the walls shook suddenly with the boom of cannon. Outside a fierce battle between Bolshevik troops and government troops was going on: the delegates heard the shooting and a wild fire of verbiage ran through the hall. The delegates screamed at each other. Moderates and Mensheviks shook accusing fists at the new presidium: "Traitors! You have created civil war! You have stabbed the Army in the back! You have betrayed the people! Spies! German agents!" From the other side of the hall the Bolshevik supporters, soldiers, sailors, workers, peasants, jeered and hooted and shouted: "Counter-revolutionists! Provocators!" Hundreds of human voices swell into one uproar of passion. . . .

Next day the *bourgeois* and Moderate Socialist newspapers howled with rage at the "traitors to the working class." One flaming poster shouted to the crowds that swept through the streets: "Famine will crush Petrograd! The German Armies will trample on our liberty. Black Hundred pogroms will spread all over Russia, if we all—conscious workers, soldiers, and citizens—do not unite. . . . Do not trust the promises of the Bolsheviks! The promise of immediate peace—it is a lie! The promise of bread—a hoax! The promise of land—a fairy tale!"

Petrograd thought the rule of the Bolsheviks would not last more than three days. Soon Kerensky will come back with an army, and then we shall see who will run the government. . . .

RUSHING AHEAD

But the Bolsheviks are little perturbed by these outcries. Under their control, the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets declares the Provisional Government deposed. It takes over all power to itself. On the night of the 8th the Bolsheviks were in full control. Lenin, the idol of the mob, rises,



Russian Dead Entangled in Their Own Defenses

A scene during the retreat of the Russian armies in Galicia. The advancing Germans found many unburied dead. The Russians were forced back so rapidly that they left behind many wounded, also. The victorious Germans and Austrians took thousands of unwounded prisoners.

amidst a tremendous ovation. He is as cool as a steel machine: "We shall now proceed to construct the Socialist order." Then he proceeds to dispose of the various parts of the Bolshevik program. First he reads a proclamation addressed to the peoples and governments of all the belligerent nations, calling upon them to negotiate at once for "a just and democratic peace, which is desired by the immense majority of workers and laboring classes, exhausted and depleted by the war . . . an immediate peace without annexations . . . and without indemnities." The house rocks with cheers. A vote is taken. Unanimous. Then Lenin reads the Decree on Land: "All private ownership of land is abolished immediately without compensation. . . . The land of Cossacks and peasants serving in the Army shall not be confiscated." Mad cheering again. The peasant delegates weep for joy, hug each other. A new day has dawned, they say. Thus the Bolsheviks plunged ahead with their program. At two o'clock in the morning the sleepless delegates listen to Kamenev read the decree on the constitution of power: "Until the meeting of the Constitutional Assembly a provisional workers' and peasants' government is formed which shall be named the Council of People's Commissaries." Silence. Then the names are read. The house bursts into applause, especially after the names of Lenin, President of the Council, and Trotzky, Commissary of Foreign Affairs. Thus do the Bolsheviks frankly set up a dictatorship of workers and peasants where the real power is wielded by men who have never been workers or peasants in their lives.

THE END OF KERENSKY

On the 10th the city was wild with anxiety. Rumors were prevalent that Kerensky was back; that he was at the head of an army five miles outside of Petrograd. The municipal Duma, the *bourgeoisie*, the Social Revolutionaries, the Council of the Republic, all threaten the Bolsheviks from newspapers, posters, handbills, pamphlets. Wait till Kerensky comes back! Soon Kerensky was back. As usual he was melodramatic, but not vigorous. He came riding on a white horse at the head of a detachment of Cossacks. The church bells began to ring as a dramatic set-

ting. He entered Tsarskoye Selo to direct the counter-revolution. A bloody battle broke out in the streets between his defenders and the Bolsheviks. The Red Guards engaged the "*Yunkers*" (Cadets) in a wild conflict. Trotzky is merciless and indefatigable. Inside of twenty-four hours he succeeds in hurling back the troops of Kerensky. Bolshevik victories sweep back Kerensky's followers in Moscow, Sebastopol, Nizhni Novgorod, and other centers. Poor Kerensky lost the little courage he had. While one of his generals was trying to rally some troops, he disguised himself in the uniform of a sailor and escaped. He thus loses whatever respect the Russian masses ever had for him.

THE IRON LENIN

Meantime the new dictator, ruling in the name of the proletariat, went on with his program. He had already issued decrees covering no annexations, no indemnities; all power to the Soviets; land to the peasants. Now he proceeded to declare the right of all peoples to self-determination. Immediately Ukraine, Finland, Siberia, and Caucasus seized the joyous opportunity and declared themselves independent. But it was one thing for the Bolsheviks to issue decrees and another to carry them out. Enemies of the new régime did all in their power to block the execution of their program. An economic resistance was organized by the upper classes to their proletarian rulers. Banks and commercial establishments financed a strike of government employees. Trotzky went to the Foreign Office to take up his new duties. The functionaries locked themselves in and refused to recognize him. The doors were forced open. A thousand functionaries threw their resignations in Trotzky's face. In every ministry the functionaries blocked the new commissaries of the people. Private banks remained closed. When Bolshevik commissaries forced their way in, the clerks hid books and funds and fled. The supply committees refused to work, and resorted to sabotage. The army committees hampered the Soviets in every way. The railway union refused to transport Soviet troops. Lenin became desperate. The organization of the middle classes had to be broken if he would continue his iron rule. His



© Korsakova.

Austrian Cavalrymen Who Fell into the Hands of the Russians

The mounted troops of the Emperor Francis Joseph had varied uniforms. In this small group of prisoners are found four styles of head-dress, indicating the regiments to which the wearers belong. Russia sent many of her prisoners of war to Siberia, where they suffered great hardships.

first step was to clamp down the hostile press of the Opposition. Members of his own party protested. He was not to be moved. They resigned from the Council of People's Commissaries. He appealed over their heads to the masses, pilloried them in a bitter letter, branded them as cowards, got the masses to hiss them back to their posts in the party.

THE SECRET TREATIES

The Revolution was now at its logical extreme. The war-weary masses, deserted by the previous leaders and neglected by the busy Allies, turned to the people who promised them what they wanted: peace, bread, and land. The astounded world looked on in horror at this new régime of theorists, peasants, soldiers, and workers. Russia was on the brink of anarchy. Russia was going to burst with violence. Russia was going to collapse at the front and allow Ludendorff to pour his hordes into France where they would crush the hope of democracy. Meantime Trotzky, as Foreign Minister, was begging the Allies to enter into negotiations with Germany for a universal and democratic peace on the basis proposed by the Soviets: no annexations, no indemnities, free development of all nationalities. The Allies refused to listen to what they considered naïve or pro-German proposals. Trotzky determined to carry out the promise of his party to abolish secret diplomacy by publishing the correspondence of the Allies about the Dardanelles and other matters. The publication of the secret treaties had little effect on the outside world. In Russia it intensified the belief of the masses that the Allies were as imperialistic as Germany. They cried again: "Peace! Peace!"

BREST-LITOVSK

The Bolsheviks had to make good their promise. They had risen to power on a promise of getting immediate peace for the exhausted masses, and now they had to do it at all costs or go toppling from their high posts. They urged all the belligerent nations to declare an armistice and begin negotiations for peace at once. The rest of the story is well known. Germany alone, at that time victorious and anxious to quit, listened

to the Bolshevik proposals. The Kaiser's government tried to use the Bolsheviks as mediators. It offered peace to the Allies on a *status quo* basis. The Allies refused. The Bolsheviks were desperate. They would have peace at any price. And so they turned to Germany to arrange for a separate peace. Again the Bolsheviks turned to the Allies: Send delegates to the parley which we are arranging at Brest-Litovsk and stop this insane slaughter! But the Allies suspected a German plot and sent no delegates. Russia went on her grim path. The world shrieked its condemnation: "Judas of nations! To what degradation have you fallen that you betray your comrades? What dirty work are you allowing Lenin and Trotzky to do? Will you turn over your country to the greatest criminals in the world's history? Will you help crush civilization?" But Russia only said: "You are as bad as Germany. We do not wish to fight for your imperialistic aims. . . ."

The German and Bolshevik delegates met at Brest-Litovsk. Germany was cruel. From the helpless country it demanded complete cessation of hostilities, a complete economic surrender. With their usual duplicity, the German diplomats mouthed the Soviet phrases of no annexation, no indemnities, and free development of all nationalities; and at the same time demanded the retention of vast provinces in the east—Poland, Lithuania, Courland. The Bolsheviks were in a tight place. The idealistic effect of their beautiful theories did not materialize. Germany took shameful advantage of their weakness. Again the world asked: What now? Will Russia fight? But exhausted Russia could not fight. The Bolshevik propaganda had so weakened the troops that they could not fight even if they wanted to. And they did not want to. The Moderates and Bourgeoisie made a last plea: "Now after the triumphal flourish of trumpets in honor of the victory of Brest-Litovsk are flung at the heads of predatory imperialism—the Smolny dictators know better than any one else that menaces are only effective if you have force behind them. But what force have we to make an impression on outsiders? Only a few days ago the final blow was struck at Russian military organization—a blow from which it will not soon recover. The heart bleeds at the thought of the new

trials awaiting us, the new shame prepared for us. The one ray of hope is that after all these horrors we may yet be saved from slavery within and without. . . ." The Army was disorganized. Masses of soldiers kept on deserting, as they had been doing all along. Transportation was crippled. Factories were in a chaotic transition from private to soviet control. Russia could not fight. Voices called

laid Russia prostrate on its back and left the Allies without aid on the Eastern front, Trotzky issued the following statement: "The peace negotiations are at an end. The German capitalists, bankers, and landlords, supported by the silent coöperation of the English and French *bourgeoisie*, submitted to our comrades, members of the peace delegation at Brest-Litovsk, conditions such as could not be



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Making the Russian Prisoners Clean Up

German soldiers in a Russian town are compelling prisoners to sweep the streets. Poland, the scene of almost continuous fighting during the first year of the war, was in terrible condition when finally taken over by the Germans, and their first task was to improve the sanitary conditions of the towns.

for the promised Constitutional Assembly. And the Bolsheviki had promised peace. There was only one way out: they signed the shameful treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 3, 1918), which laid Russia at the feet of Kaiserism. Time and again the parley with the Germans was broken off; time and again weak attempts were made at resistance. But Russia was too helpless, and the Bolsheviki too intent upon the Social Revolution.

Just before the signing of the peace which

subscribed to by the Russian Revolution. The Governments of Germany and Austria possess countries and peoples vanquished by force of arms. To this authority the Russian people, workmen and peasants, could not give its acquiescence. We could not sign a peace which would bring with it sadness, oppression and suffering to millions of workmen and peasants. But we also cannot, will not, and must not continue a war begun by Czars and capitalists in alliance with Czars and capitalists. We

will not and we must not continue to be at war with the Germans and Austrians—workmen and peasants like ourselves.” Attached to this statement was an order for the demobilization of Russian troops on all fronts. Russia was out of the war for good. Her territory was open to the German marauders. Her economic resources were at the disposal of the imperial robbers of Berlin.

CHAOS ONCE MORE

Lenin had urged the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty in order that Russia might get a chance to go on with the Revolution. But Germany was not interested in the Revolution. She poured her hordes into the Dnieper valley, while her ally overran the plains of the Ukraine. The whole country was disorganized, the cities were famishing with hunger. The government was unstable. It was attacked by Cossack counter-revolutionaries. Parts of the Russian Army were trying to resist the invading Teutons, but they soon tired of the unequal struggle and laid down their arms. From the Arctic Ocean to Persia the country was at the disposal of a desperate, hungry, ruthless enemy.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DISSOLVED

Russia from this moment becomes obscured from the world. All the passions of conflicting class interests collide within and without the country, and the clash raises so much dust that it is almost impossible to see the true situation. In January of 1918 the Bolshevik Government at last consented to convene the Constituent Assembly. On this body were fastened the hopes of all those who were panting to be freed from the dictatorship of Lenin and Trotzky. It was to usher in a new day for the moderate and middle classes. But when the Assembly met, a violent verbal fight broke out between the Bolsheviks and their opponents. The Bolsheviks booed and yelled at their adversaries. It seemed as if the delegates would soon come to blows. According to most newspaper reports the Opposition parties were in the majority. They had one of their leaders take the chair, but the Bolsheviks shouted: “Get off! Get off! We don’t want you.” One of the Bolsheviks

sprang to the tribune and read a declaration calling upon the Assembly to approve the decrees passed by the Soviets and signed by Lenin. Only the Bolshevik members applauded. At last, in all this turmoil and pandemonium the Assembly succeeded in holding elections for a chairman. Tchernov, candidate of the Social Revolutionaries, received a majority. Whereupon the Bolsheviks left the hall, on the pretext that the people were being betrayed. On the following day Lenin announced that the Soviets would keep the power of government permanently and not temporarily. The *bourgeois* Assembly was dissolved. In its stead a great Congress of Soviets would be held in March at Moscow.

This Congress was completely controlled by the Bolsheviks. In the short space of three days it drove the last nails into the iron throne of Lenin. The Brest-Litovsk treaty was ratified. The Central Executive Committee was reelected. The capital was transferred to Moscow.

THE RED ARMY

Russia was now out of the war. The government was completely in the hands of the Bolsheviks. They had obtained the “respite” which they said was necessary to carry on the Revolution. Now to set to work to tackle the complicated problems. The pugnacious Leon Trotzky began to form a Red Army. He was now Minister of War, and he was going to spread the proletarian revolution by force of arms. His fiery eloquence raised troops among the workers and peasants, and it was divisions of this Red Army which fought the Germans for Odessa, and later were fighting against English, French, and American troops in Russia. It numbered over a million young and enthusiastic Bolsheviks, whose work consisted in fighting invaders and spreading Bolshevik propaganda in their ranks. The Red army, large though it was, was soon fully occupied in repressing disaffection to Bolshevism within the area under Soviet control, and in repelling the numerous conservative forces which were gathering to fight Bolshevism in the outlying portions of European Russia and in Siberia. Furthermore, these conservative elements were aided by the Allies and Americans in every possible way.



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Breaking Through Barbed Wire

This photograph was made from an Austrian trench somewhere along the East Galician front, while Russian soldiers were endeavoring to rush the position. Their artillery preparation had been insufficient and much of the barbed wire still remained intact. The wire was strung on three parallel rows of posts and had extra long barbs.

Of course the Allies could not aid the anti-Bolshevik elements with large military forces, because the Allied armies had to be concentrated against the Central Powers. Nevertheless, small Allied detachments were sent, numerous officers were detailed for instruction and staff work, and the Czecho-Slovak legions in Russia were aided when these revolted against the Bolshevik authorities and offered themselves as doughty warriors against Bolshevism.

A WORLD INVASION

So loud grew the cries of the Moderate Socialists who were supporting Kerensky in exile, the numerous conservatives who had fled from Russia, and the people who bewailed the lot of Russia under the Bolsheviks, that at last the Allies sent an expeditionary force to occupy the Murmansk railroad, and another to Vladivostok. Russia was now overrun by the German foe and by the Entente troops. At the same time Japan began preparing for "aiding" Russia in a military and economic way. President Wilson had little faith in the good wishes of Japan and decided to do the helping under other auspices. And so American troops were sent to Siberia and Archangel. The Bolsheviks had thus drawn down upon themselves two categories of enemies—Germans and Allies—certainly formidable opponents.

The bitterness of the Russian people at this *impasse* grew to the point of desperation. Furious mutual recriminations broke out. Bolsheviks asserted that the capitalists of all countries had identical interests and were now united to wipe out the first Socialist government in the world. On the other hand, social revolutionaries and conservatives alike asserted that it was the Soviet usurpers who, by their policies, had turned Russia's late allies into enemies. Desperate revolutionists assassinated Count von Mirbach, the German Ambassador to Russia. Marshal von Eichorn, his aid, was bombed to death. The Allied embassies were expelled from Archangel. And by July, 1918, the Russian Army was swiftly mobilizing again to repulse an invasion from three sides. By August Lenin told the Soviets frankly that a state of war existed between Russia and the Entente govern-

ments. "Despite the existing state of peace," declared Tchitcherin, Commissary for Foreign Affairs, "Anglo-French armed forces have invaded our territory, taken our towns and villages by force, dissolved our workers' organizations, imprisoned their members and driven them from their homes without any reason. . . . Toward us no justice is observed and no law acknowledged by those who sent these invading troops against us, for we are the first in the world to establish a government of the oppressed poor. . . ."

THE RED TERROR

Faced by a flood of invaders from without and a storm of counter-revolutionary plots within, the Bolshevik Government resorted, according to all reports, to a reign of terror. An uprising of former officers in Moscow was drowned in blood. The committee dealing with counter-revolutions, under the direction of one Uritzky, dealt so mercilessly with enemies of the dictatorship that Uritzky was killed by enraged counter-revolutionaries. Lenin himself was badly wounded in a similar attack. During the latter half of 1918 the Allied press carried fearful stories of Bolshevik atrocities, of terrible executions, of rivers choked with corpses, of women and children shot and strangled. And all the time reports kept coming of dreadful conditions under the Bolshevik régime. Stories kept pouring in of a deserted Petrograd—only 500,000 people left out of 2,000,000; of former officers doing dirty work while former criminals were divisional commanders; of restaurants, cafés, and offices closed; of aristocratic palaces occupied by Red Guards and their families. And all the time massacres, executions, funerals, starvation. . . .

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AND RUSSIA

And then came the news of the armistice. The sudden cessation of the war in November, 1918, rid the country of the Germans and freed it from the oppressive chains forged at Brest-Litovsk. But Allied and American soldiers were still fighting at Archangel, Murmansk, Ukraine and other places, with the definite purpose of overthrowing the Bolsheviks. The Russian situation became the

greatest problem facing the world. During February, 1919, the Peace Conference tried to untie the thousand knots of the problem. Many voices had kept calling for armed intervention on a larger scale than that in force. Others had urged complete withdrawal. But the conference could do neither.

pected that the dictatorial Bolsheviks would refuse and the necessary reason for declaring open war against them would be thus established. But the details of the proposed conference could not be agreed upon, the Russian conservatives resolutely refused to meet the Bolsheviks, and the plan fell through.



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United States Transport at Vladivostok

The U. S. S. *Thomas* landing her cargo at the A. E. F. base in the famous Russian port.

The first course would arouse the anger of radicals at home; the second would leave Bolshevism in its place of power. An attempt was made to solve the Russian problem by compromise. All the Russian governments—the Bolshevik Government at Petrograd, the Tchaikovsky Government set up by the Allies at Archangel, and Kolchak's Government in Siberia, as well as certain representatives of the middle classes, such as Milyukov and Sazonov, were asked to send representatives to a conference at Princes' Islands. It was ex-

The one course which apparently remained open to the leaders of the western democracies was to break the back of Bolshevism by starvation and internal counter-revolution. The first was being effectively carried on through a rigid blockade; the second was being done through the medium of former Admiral Kolchak, who had made himself dictator of Omsk. Him the Allies were supporting with money and materials; and they had in addition given him the moral support of recognition.

ANARCHICAL SIBERIA

In Siberia the Czecho-Slovaks Win Glory and the Anti-Bolshevists
Find a Rallying Place

THE importance of Siberia as a factor distinct from the rest of Russia does not begin until the Revolution. For a long time before the great cataclysm, however, there was an active movement for autonomy. This movement was not based, as it is in almost every other region, upon historical or sentimental grounds, but upon economic interests. Siberia is a country without a past. Although the country came under Russian domination long before Peter the Great, it did not really become alive until the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway in 1903. It was then that the old régime began to encourage emigration which swelled the little hamlets into towns. The desire of Siberia for autonomy began almost immediately after it was settled. It was a direct result of the attitude of the Russian industrial classes, which looked upon Siberia as a colony in the sense in which Great Britain had looked upon America in the eighteenth century. Industrial Russia would brook no competition from Siberia. Every industrial, commercial, and technical activity in the colony was curtailed and cramped. Siberia became sullen. The people have all the courage and hardihood of pioneers. Their country is rich in vast resources of every kind. They felt they had a right to develop them. This feeling gave rise to a movement for autonomy as early as 1865, which was, of course, ruthlessly suppressed by the autocracy. But the idea of freedom in this new land without a past persisted. The Third and Fourth Dumas contained each a Siberian *bloc* elected on a regionalist platform. In the Coöperative Union of all Russia the Siberian Coöperatives entered with the proviso that they be distinguished from other groups. Thus the Siberians showed their determination to maintain their local individuality while remaining within the imperial fabric like the Dominions within the British Empire.

REVOLUTIONARY SIBERIA

Although the idea of autonomy for Siberia made steady progress, it never took the shape of complete separation from the great Slav Empire. The watchword was: "Autonomous Siberia in Russia, One and Indivisible." As a result the outbreak of the war released no separatist forces in Siberia as it did in other provinces. When the Revolution broke out in 1917 the country came closer to Petrograd than ever, and even although Lenin decreed self-determination for all nationalities in November, Siberia refused to take advantage of this offer of freedom. But within the country itself the same forces that were swirling about in stormy conflict all over Russia now burst out like a typhoon. The last Siberian Congress was held late in the autumn, and the new era had cut a deep mark in it. All its members were Socialists without exception. Many were even Bolsheviks. There were no *bourgeoisie* at all. This congress decided to choose the local Duma itself, since political conditions were in such volcanic chaos that regular elections were impossible. This Duma was to represent only democratic revolutionary organizations. It was, in other words, to be exclusively Socialist. This Duma, after innumerable difficulties, finally met in February of 1918. It represented the Socialist-Revolutionaries. That was poison to the Bolsheviks. They declared the Duma "counter-revolutionary" and withdrew. The Soviet of Tomsk, the Siberian metropolis where the Duma was meeting, arrested nineteen deputies of that body. Those members who escaped the Bolshevik raids met secretly and decided to create a basis of resistance to the government of Lenin and Trotzky. This resistance to Bolshevik tyranny, unlike similar efforts in European Russia, was destined to bear tangible fruit in the immediate future.



Photo from Paul Thompson.

A Sign of the Revolution in Siberia

Most of the stations along the Trans-Siberian Railroad bore placards with inscriptions about the revolution. This one bears the inscription "Long Live the All-Russian Democratic Republic."

CHAOTIC SIBERIA

From this time on Siberia becomes the stamping ground of every revolutionary and counter-revolutionary movement in Russia. The Bolsheviks were trying to maintain their power there. The Social Revolutionaries were setting up a base from which they could regain the power lost with the collapse of Kerensky. General Horvath was leading troops in defense of *bourgeois* aspirations. Admiral Kolchak was pulling a thousand strings to ob-

Cadets and Moderate Socialists of various stripes. It represented those social forces which wanted to protect "the fruits of the Revolution" and at the same time to save Russia "from the anarchy of Bolshevism." At the head of this government was Peter Volodgsky, an honored chief of the autonomous movement and a tried leader of revolutionary democracy. The position of the government was very difficult. On the one hand it had to fight Bolshevism with its extreme theories; on the other it had to fight the Siberian



The Bleakness of Winter-bound Russia

Barren fields of glistening snow greet the eye on every side. It has little to offer for agriculture or industry; but there is an eerie beauty found often in waste places.

tain a dictatorship. The Czecho-Slovaks were an outpost of the Allied offensive against Bolshevism. And, finally, the Allies themselves threw their forces into Siberia to break the dictatorship of the proletariat which was menacing them from Petrograd and Moscow. These various threads of an involved maze of movements will have to be indicated very briefly.

THE ALL-RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT

In the summer of 1918 the Social Revolutionaries collaborated with Liberals and "Coöperatives" to form an all-Russian government at Omsk. In this government there were

Duma, which became the center of activities to restore the old régime, or at least to insure *bourgeois* supremacy. Its chief support came from the "Coöperatives," who really were the peasantry of the country. The Coöperative Societies are a complete system of organized exchange, a medium for solving the peasant's needs of credit, production and consumption. Almost every peasant in Siberia owned land and would scarcely lend a ready ear to Bolshevik theories of expropriation. Although opposed to restoring the autocracy, the peasantry of Siberia would not listen to Bolshevism. The All-Russian government of Moderates and Liberals seemed to fulfill its needs. This government had its seat at

Omsk, and was composed of the local governments of Siberia, Archangel, and the Urals. There was, in addition to a Directory and Cabinet, a National Assembly, but this was controlled by the industrial workers, members of the Left Wing of the Social Revolutionaries, men with extreme views who held themselves aloof from the Omsk government. Another Moderate Socialist government was set

in their lot with the Allies, from whom they could obtain the national independence which they craved. Since the beginning of the war the Czecho-Slovaks had sided heartily with the Allies. They would have revolted against Austria-Hungary at home had it not been for Austria's close espionage system and oppressive military measures. Thousands of them solved the dilemma by surrendering voluntarily to Russia. It was these prisoners who now formed an army which was incited by the Allies to fight the Bolsheviks. About 15,000 of them succeeded in capturing Vladivostok in June of 1918. From that point they coöperated with the Cossacks who were following General Semenoff, Kolchak's aide. Not only were the Czechs fighting the revolution, but the whole country swarmed with counter-revolutionary forces. The Cossacks of Kaledin and Kornilov were moving from the Don to Siberia. General Dutov was moving troops in the Urals. General Denikin and his Cossacks were engaged in bitter conflict with the Bolsheviks. Truly, as Trotsky himself said, the fate of the world was being fought out in the Urals.



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In Vladivostok

A view of the gateway of the American Consulate up at Vladivostok, separate and distinct from the one at Omsk, neither recognizing the other.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

Siberia became the hope of all those who were seeking to overthrow, not only the Bolsheviks, but all the results of the Revolution. At Harbin General Horvath set up a *bourgeois* government which was sending out troops to fight the Red Armies. But more dangerous for the power of Lenin and Trotsky were the Czecho-Slovaks. About 80,000 of these, prisoners in Russia, decided to throw

INTERVENTION: UNOFFICIAL

Many Allied statesmen and leaders realized that Siberia was the side from which the Russian Revolution could be destroyed. Voices began calling everywhere for intervention. Exiled supporters of the old régime went from capital to capital imploring foreign aid in overthrowing the various Socialist governments. But the Allies were undecided in their Russian policy officially. Unofficially, however, they were bolstering up the counter-revolutionary forces. Japan was particularly interested in Siberia. Her troops were ready to spring upon the helpless country, and she was only waiting for the consent of the Allies to take that step. But the United States would not permit such a flagrant violation of the Allies' pledges to the world. After much deliberation and uncertainty the State Department issued a statement announcing the Japanese and American policy in Siberia. "In the judgment of the Government of the United States," the statement began, "military intervention in Russia would be more likely to add to the present sad



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American Troops in Vladivostok Salute the Russians

American officers and marines, part of an American force sent to Siberia, may be seen on the sidewalk during the parade of the Allies.

confusion there than cure it and would injure Russia rather than help her out of her distress. . . . Military action is admissible in Russia now only to render such protection and help as is possible to the Czecho-Slovaks against the armed Austrian and German prisoners who are attacking them and to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance. . . . The only present object for which American troops will be employed will be to guard military stores which may subsequently be needed by Russian forces and to render such aid as may be acceptable to the Russians. . . ." Great Britain, France, and America were already coöperating in Archangel and the neighborhood of Murmansk. Now the United States and Japan sent troops to Vladivostok to guard supplies, but not officially to intervene in Russian

affairs. But although none of the Allied troops were officially at war with Soviet Russia, they "coöperated" to help the Czechs, and in so doing could not avoid killing the Bolshevik foe. The result of this unofficial intervention is put thus by the *New York Times* of January 26, 1919: "It may be stated now and proved later, when all the facts can be published, that the foreigners in Russia had more to do with the collapse of the All-Russian government than the Russians, and that if several foreign powers through their official representatives had not been interfering with Russia's internal affairs the government would very likely still be at Omsk."

RESTORATION OF REACTION

In July, General Horvath, defeated in his struggle with the Moderate Socialist govern-

ment at Vladivostok, resigned. After the British, Japanese, French, and American troops landed at Vladivostok, he was able by a concentration of his forces to regain power in Eastern Siberia. Thereupon the Bolsheviks threatened a reign of terror. The various governments—Socialist, *bourgeois*, and Bolshevik—all clamored for recognition, and yet the Allies were unable to form a definite policy in Siberia. Meantime, Admiral Kolchak was gathering strength. In November he was able to break up the Social Revolutionary All-Russian Government at Omsk, and to make himself dictator. Two of the ministers of the government, Avksentief and Zenzenoff, once ministers under Kerensky, were arrested. Immediately all the reactionary leaders who were trying to set up governments of their own, like Horvath, Ivanoff, and Renoff, recognized the new dictatorship.

BETWEEN ANARCHY AND AUTOCRACY

The civil war which followed the dictatorship of Kolchak is thus analyzed by the *Times* correspondent: "Russia's civil war has reached a period where decisive battles are in preparation between the Bolsheviks in the east and the militarist and monarchist party in the west. While Lenin has announced the plans for a Red Army of 3,000,000 men by spring, Admiral Kolchak, coöperating with General Denikin near Kief, General Dutov in the Urals, and the Siberian forces loyal to the Omsk dictatorship, plans another army to fight the Bolsheviks next year. . . . A distressing

and disappointing feature is that Russia's civil war is not a fight for freedom, but a contest of power between anarchy on the one hand and militarism and autocracy on the other. . . . If the Bolsheviks win in the final clash with arms, Russia and Siberia will remain anarchistic for some time. If the present dictators succeed, the Czar's intimate friend Denikin will be named dictator of the new monarchy which will be founded."

KOLCHAK'S EFFORT AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

For the last year Siberia has been in an uproar. Allied and American troops have garrisoned the towns and kept the trans-Siberian railroad open. Three distinct governments were still competing for power. Even Kolchak's own reactionary group was divided: General Semenov opposed his dictatorship at first. But gradually all the forces bent upon destroying Bolshevism gathered around Kolchak as the one strong man capable of breaking down the power of the Soviets. In May the Liberal Cadets passed a resolution addressed to Kolchak in which they shared fully "his views that the government must be above all parties and classes, that order must be established upon law and liberty."

With Siberian resources and Allied support Admiral Kolchak made a strong offensive against the Bolsheviks, penetrating well into European Russia. In the autumn of 1919, however, the Bolsheviks inflicted a heavy series of defeats upon Kolchak's armies, driving them across the Urals and invading Siberia.

CLEARING THE NAME OF BYNG

The brilliance of the battle of Cambray has cleared from the name of Byng a historical cloud under which it had rested for one hundred and sixty years. In 1756 Admiral John Byng was appointed to command a hastily equipped squadron of ten ships sent to the relief of Minorca, which was blocked by a French fleet.

Byng was accused of hesitation about attacking. Public indignation was great. Byng was tried by court martial and found guilty. Though he was recommended to mercy, the ministry in power insisted on the extreme penalty. He was shot by a firing-squad on the warship *Monarch*, at Portsmouth, the 14th of March, 1757.

The general verdict of historians has been that the execution of Admiral Byng was a case of undue severity. In the light of reason and a calm review of the circumstances, his worst fault appears to have been excess of caution. Few if any competent authorities would say now that he was a traitor. But for more than a century and a half a cloud has hung over his memory. It is an instance of popular forgetfulness, or, indeed, ingratitude, that the fact that Admiral John Byng's father, himself an admiral, was one of the most aggressive leaders of the British Navy, and in 1718 annihilated the Spanish fleet off Messina, has almost lapsed into oblivion.



Driving the Bolsheviki from Siberia

Cossack Cavalry of the Semenov-Orloff forces passing through Harbin bearing the emblem of the New Siberian Government—a black shield crossed by three slanting bars of red, white and blue.

FINLAND AT LAST A NATION

Torn Between "Reds" and "Whites," Finland Gets Freedom Under Mannerheim's Dictatorship

THE STUBBORN FINNS

WHEN the Russian conquest of 1809 tore Finland from Sweden and linked its destinies with the great Slav Empire, the Finns so dreaded losing their identity by being assimilated into the mass of Russians, that they swore to fight to the death to prevent it. Czar Alexander clearly saw that any attempt to Russify Finland at that time would result in a long and bloody struggle. To prevent that he reconciled the Finns by a grant of complete autonomy. Finland was not annexed to Russia at all, but was declared a grand duchy with a constitution of its own, governed by the Czar of Russia as the Grand Duke of Finland. This satisfied the Finns. During the rest of the nineteenth century they were the most prosperous and contented of the Czar's numerous dominions. But in 1899 this happy era came to a violent end. The Russian government, adopting a new policy, revoked all the former promises of autonomy and determined upon the complete Russification of Finland. The Finns were roused. They are a dogged and stubborn people strongly attached to their liberties, and they determined never to be Russianized. Armed rebellion was impossible, so they resorted to passive resistance. They completely ignored the Russian government. The Russian government replied with brutal severities, which were answered by sporadic Finnish terrorism. This tense struggle was relieved in 1905, when, because of the Russian Revolution, the Finns were able to extort from a tottering autocracy some confirmation of their old liberties. This relief did not last very long, however. No sooner did the Czar regain his old power than his ministers launched again upon a ruthless policy of Russifying Finland. The Finns again braced themselves for passive resistance.

THE CLASS-STRUGGLE

While all classes in Finland were united against Russian oppression, their other interests were by no means identical. Finnish nationalism, intense and zealous as it was, bore a dual character. As soon as the revolution of 1905 established a Diet it became evident to the upper classes of Finland that the masses were fast drifting toward Socialism. In the very first elections the Socialists secured 40 per cent. of the membership, by far the largest *bloc* of all the parties.

FINLAND AND THE WAR

When the war broke out this dual character of Finnish nationalism stood out in painful relief. With its usual stupidity the Russian bureaucracy undertook stringent measures for Russifying the grand duchy. This, instead of enlisting the coöperation of the Finns, only drove them into resistance. The upper classes immediately turned to Germany for aid in throwing off the yoke of Czarism. Their young men entered the German Army as volunteers, where they could not only aid in the military defeat of their Russian masters but could also learn how to govern the people of their country as soon as they got into the saddle. The mass of Finns, however, decided to throw in their lot with the Czar and the Allies. During the first few months of the war they were loyal. But after the "program" in regard to Finland which the Russian government issued in December of 1914 and which used "the state of war" as an excuse for browbeating and Russifying the province, almost the entire nation became pro-German. And Germany took advantage of this attitude to use Finland as a passageway to Russia where the Central Powers carried on their propaganda.



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Market Scene Along the Quay at Helsingfors

A Socialist revolt occurred early in 1918, when the Red Guards modeled after the Bolsheviki rose up against the Finland Government.

THE REVOLUTION

The fear of Russification which was driving the common people of Finland into the arms of Germany did not play a very great part in the policies of the ruling classes. They feared less of power more than they feared Russification. This became clear as soon as the Russian Revolution broke out. There was a clause in the Finnish constitution which provided for independence as soon as the Czar ceased to rule. The March revolution in Petrograd created that condition, and at once the Finnish Diet, controlled by the Socialists, declared Finland independent. The Bolshevik elements of Russia immediately swarmed into Finland and converted the troops and sailors stationed at Helsingfors to their creed. Finland became the base from which the forces of Lenin and Trotzky began to operate. The masses, already infected with doctrines dangerous to the upper classes, now became a positive menace. If Finland remained independent, with the Diet in the hands of the Socialists, there would be little safety for the property-owning classes. These immediately set to work to block the wheels that were grinding independence. They persuaded the anti-Bolshevik government of Kerensky to send Cossacks to Helsingfors and with the aid of these they dissolved the Diet. New elections were held and a government representing the upper classes was ushered in.

CIVIL WAR

For four months the two great factions of Finland wrangled on the political field. Then came the Bolshevik revolution of November, and the entire situation in Finland was turned upside down. Now the radical Socialists, who had wanted independence and separation, began clamoring for union with Soviet Russia; while the Liberals and Conservatives, who had opposed independence and separation, began to work for snatching Finland away from an area infused with the contagious doctrines of Bolshevism. In the same month that the Bolsheviks seized power in Petrograd, the new Finnish Diet met. It contained a small conservative majority. The Socialists proposed their parliamentary program—protection for labor, an eight-hour day, equal suffrage for

municipalities and other moderate measures. These the conservative Diet would not grant. The Socialists considered these demands innocent. They said that not merely a Socialist but even a liberal country like England would not think twice about passing them. When the Diet remained obdurate, the Socialist Party, in conjunction with the federation of labor unions, called a general strike on November 15, 1917. The upper classes accepted the challenge. The so-called "White Guards" which had been fighting in German commands came rushing back, bringing with them their German allies. Civil war broke out all over the country. There was violence, bloodshed and disorder. In the south the Socialists received aid from Lenin, who saw in Finland a doorway through which Bolshevism could enter the rest of Europe. With this aid and with the aid of the workers and peasants of the south the Finnish Reds succeeded in driving the conservative and liberal forces into the north. Then they established a provisional government, based on Bolshevik principles, and were immediately recognized by the Soviets of Russia.

THE WHITE GUARD

The upper classes now had only one friend to turn to, and that was Germany. The young chasseurs who had fought in the German Army now organized themselves under General Mannerheim. Despite the support which Mannerheim received occasionally from the Germans he was defeated again and again by the Red Guards. The country was flooded with blood. Horrible atrocities were committed by both sides in what was a miniature reproduction of the sanguinary class struggle in Russia. From that time on the Finnish situation became inextricably bound up with the movement of events in the rest of Europe. When Germany bullied Bolshevik Russia at Brest-Litovsk, the White Elements of Finland, claiming that they were still the legal government of the country, sent delegates to the conference where they assisted the Central Powers in dismembering and prostrating a land already collapsing under revolution. The Whites were determined to safeguard both national and social rights, however Russia might evolve.



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Helsingfors, Capital of Finland

The Socialist and Russian rebels held Helsingfors in 1918.

THE GERMAN MENACE

It was about this time that the French government recognized the White government of Finland. But the latter still continued to rely upon Germany for aid in crushing the victorious Bolsheviki who were in complete control of Helsingfors and the southern portion of the country. At the request of Mannerheim the Kaiser sent troops which first occupied the Aland Islands, and, after pacifying the fears of imperialistic elements in Sweden, who perhaps looked forward to an-

nexing Finland, marched them under General von der Goltz into southern Finland. The White Guards advancing from the north and the Germans marching from the south crushed the Bolshevik government between them. Mannerheim became virtual dictator of the country. The alliance between the Whites and the Germans caused much alarm in Entente countries. Rumors spread that the country would be made a monarchy with one of the Kaiser's younger sons as king. It was the fear of this and the general domination of Finland by Germany that caused the Allies

to cater to the Finnish masses by supplying them with food at a time when they were literally starving. The result of this was gratifying. The Finnish Army refused to obey German demands that it fight against the Entente, and the Finnish Diet kept on delaying the election of a monarch until the end of 1918, when Germany was no longer a power to be feared. The struggle between the radical and conservative elements went on. The new Diet, despite monarchistic plots and Bolshevik appeals to abstain from an election which was useless, contained a majority of moderate Socialists. It was these who finally prevailed in having Finland declared a republic. This republic was at once recognized by the United States and Great Britain, with the Mannerheim dictatorship as the *de facto* government.

WIPING OUT BOLSHEVISM

It was one thing for General Mannerheim to have obtained power; it was another to keep it. The pre-war voting strength of the Socialists was over 370,000. These people were the backbone of the revolution and the revolutionary government which had raised its head in the south. It was these people who were spreading Bolshevism and threatening both Mannerheim's power and the safety of the upper classes. Mannerheim set to work to crush Bolshevism. In a statement issued to the press Mannerheim said: "The White Guards took about 70,000 prisoners and promptly put them on trial. A few were condemned to death and more than 8,000 got sentences of over eight years in prison. The rest after a few weeks in jail were released on

probation. . . . I feel absolutely sure they will not again have anything to do with Bolshevism." Despite these rigorous methods, however, there seems to be some Bolshevik spirit still left in the southern part of Finland. However, as long as Mannerheim is at the helm, law, and order, will be safe in Finland.

FINLAND AND THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Although England and America had recognized Mannerheim's *de facto* government, the Ministers at Paris were besieged by the Omsk government of Kolchak with protests against having part of Russian territory modified legally without the consent of the real Russian government at Omsk. But the difficulty was adjusted very speedily by a conference which had food, munitions and money to hold out. At almost the same time the governments of General Mannerheim in Finland and Admiral Kolchak in Siberia were recognized by the four great Allied Powers. Mannerheim was to be dictator of Finland until such time as it could safely hold elections and construct a popular government. In the meantime Finland was to act as a bulwark against Bolshevism. The Allies intended it as a dyke to stem the Red Tide which was sweeping from Petrograd to Moscow. The United States at once sent a shipment of gold originally intended for the Kerensky government to the White régime. England contributed naval strength for operations in the Baltic. Finnish troops were sent to coöperate with Allied troops on the Archangel and Murmansk fronts, fighting the Bolsheviks. The outcome was a matter of the future.

WHO ARE THE FINNS?

In Europe there are three peoples of non-Aryan origin,—the Turks, the Magyars, and the Finns. Ethnically they are all related, being representatives of Asiatic invasions of Europe hundreds of years ago. The Finns speak a language like that of the Lapps, although the two races do not mix. Down to the 13th century the Finns were virtually pagans. They were then conquered by the Swedes. In 1721 part of Finland was acquired by Peter the Great of Russia, and in 1808-9 the greater part of the country passed under the yoke of Russia, being made a Grand Duchy with a Governor General. The Czar Alexander II. of Russia in 1863 granted a constitution to the Finns. The Governor General resided at Helsingfors, and he was the head of an Imperial Senate composed of nobles, clergy, burghers and peasants. Most of the people of Finland are Lutherans. In 1907 Finland adopted universal suffrage. The population aggregated about 3,000,000 and the Finns were subject to military service in the Russian Army.

THE REBIRTH OF A NATION

Poland, Torn Between Teuton and Russian, Secures Independence After an Agony of Despair

THE TRAGIC NATION

FOR the last century and a half Poland has been the tragic figure among the nations of the world. Save on the southwest, it has never known the protection of natural frontiers and has consequently been exposed to the greed and rapacity of its more powerful neighbors. For two hundred years it was shaking under the strain of internal strife which exposed it to ever greater anarchy. Then foreign powers took advantage of Poland's weakness, ravaged the whole country, and fought over the spoils. The year 1772 saw the beginning of the end, when Russia, Prussia, and Austria agreed upon the First Partition of Poland. Two other partitions—in 1793 and 1795—completed the work. Poland was torn to fragments. The greatest part became subject to the rule of the Russian Czars; her western provinces had gone to Prussia; Galicia was in the grasp of Austria. The people were plunged into bitter misfortune. The three greedy powers which had torn Poland asunder each tried to stamp out the intense flame of nationalism which burned in the breast of every Pole. A ruthless policy of economic oppression and cultural tyranny was adopted by Russia in order to Russify her Poles, and by Germany in order to Germanize her Poles. But this very misery of Poland only increased her national consciousness. All classes clung together in common misfortune and dreamed of the happy day when all parts of the country would once more be restored to national union and independence.

Life in Poland was an unequal struggle against overwhelming odds. To live there was to lie gasping under the heel of the Russian or Prussian political boot. It meant a long fight for the use of the Polish language. It meant poverty deliberately fostered by the ruling powers. Even worse than the condi-

tion of the Poles was that of the large number of Jews in Poland. They were persecuted not only by those who persecuted the Poles, but by the Poles themselves. They were crushed between the two contending forces. As a country, Poland stood out as the most pitiful figure in Europe, for whom the hearts of liberals the world over bled.

THE BONE OF CONTENTION

Even before the war both Russia and the Teutonic powers carried on campaigns of propaganda in the various parts of Poland. Russia was trying to seduce Galicia by promises of Pan-Slavic glories. Austria was trying to turn Russian Poland away from its autocratic oppressors. When the war broke out in 1914 this campaign of propaganda swelled from mere whispers into a tempest. Russian Poland became a vital factor to be won over at all costs. It became the battleground of the Eastern front. On its soil the fate of Russia and the Central Powers was in the balance, and the weights were cannon and rifles. Both sides hastened to win the allegiance of the Poles by all sorts of golden promises. The Czar promised autonomy after the war. As the Grand Duke Nicholas, commander-in-chief of the Russian armies, came marching through Poland to meet the Teutonic invaders, he issued a stirring proclamation: "Poles, the hour has struck when the sacred dreams of your fathers and ancestors can be realized. A century and a half ago the living body of Poland was torn to pieces, but its soul did not die. She lived in the hope that the hour of resurrection would come for the Polish nation, and its fraternal reconciliation with Great Russia. The Russian troops bring you the solemn news of that reconciliation. May the Poles of Russia unite under the scepter of the Russian Czar. Under

that scepter Poland will be born again—free in her religion, her language, and her autonomy. Russia only asks that you should respect the rights of the nationalities to which history has allied you. With open heart and hands fraternally held out, Great Russia comes to meet you. . . . The dawn of a new life begins for you. . . .” Later he reminded them that this is a war of liberation for the Slavs and promised “to unite all parts of Poland now under the rule of Germany and Austria-Hungary and restore Poland under the Czar’s scepter.”

A month later the Germans made their appeal for Polish allegiance. “Arise!” cried the Kaiser in his proclamation, “and drive away with me those Russian barbarians who made you slaves; drive them out of your beautiful country, which shall now regain her political and religious liberty.”

MANY POLES TURN TO AUSTRIA

As was quite natural, the Polish people were divided in their allegiance. A century of oppression and broken promises had made them sceptical. Czar and Kaiser had betrayed them so many times that they could believe no more. The sudden kindness of their oppressors was inspired very evidently by selfish considerations. And yet the Poles felt that somehow out of this bloody struggle of the nations she would emerge free. But how? Through whose aid? Which side would be most just and most effective for her? The national mind of Poland was distracted on this point.

The Austrian Poles remained loyal to Austria. For many years the Poles of Galicia had enjoyed complete local self-government and full cultural liberty. Their free condition stood out in luminous contrast with the persecuted condition of their brethren in Russian Poland. Thousands of Russian Poles had fled to Galicia as to a city of refuge. The Austrian Poles therefore hailed the war as a crusade for the liberation of the race from Russian oppression. At the outbreak of the war the National Polish Committee issued a manifesto that showed this attitude clearly. “Should Russia keep Russian Poland, and add Galicia and Posen thereto, Europe would be exposed to the infiltration of Russian des-

potism and Byzantinism. If, on the other hand, Poland is torn from Russia, it will mean the guarantee of a progressive expansion of Western civilization toward Eastern Europe, as well as protection against the introduction of Cossack principles into modern life. . . . Russia was Poland’s arch-enemy in the past, and will be in the future.” In an appeal addressed to the Poles throughout the world, the noted Polish poet George Zulawski wrote: “We stand to-day by Austria, and do not doubt for a moment her good will. Let the Grand Duke Nicholas juggle with promises never meant to be kept; we know how we are treated here. After we lost our liberty, we found in this monarchy, the most liberal in Europe, shelter and protection.” It was with this feeling in their hearts that many exiles from Russian Poland rallied under the banner of the gifted Polish General Joseph Pilsudski and fought with fanatical bravery against the Russian troops.

MEETING RUSSIA HALF WAY

While the Austrian Poles were fighting for their imperial master, many Polish Conservatives were willing to meet the Grand Duke’s promises half way. So intense was the desire for national reunion that they were willing to accept local autonomy under the Czar, if he would unite all parts of Poland. The Polish Conservatives therefore replied to the Grand Duke’s proclamation with a most cordial manifesto in which they expressed the hope “that the blood shed by the sons of Russia in the struggle against the common enemy will cement the friendship of the two Slav races.” That was meeting the Czar half way. But what of the other half of the way? Most Poles took little stock in the promises of the Russian autocracy. They waited with faint hope to see whether the promises of modifying the oppression would actually be carried out. But not in the slightest degree did the Russian government carry out the promises which it had made. The war had opened the frontiers, and thousands of Poles plunged through the opening into Austria to join their volunteer army under Pilsudski. Thousands of them surrendered to the enemy in order to escape fighting for a country they hated.



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Old Florian Gate, Cracow

Cracow was the chief city of Galicia before the World War, and was the main objective of the Russian attack in Galicia. Although threatened, it was not captured. By the terms of the Peace Treaty it reverts to Poland.



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Cracow Cathedral

Poland's Westminster Abbey. Cracow was Austrian territory before the war, but was given to Poland when Austria was dismembered.

THE BELGIUM OF THE EAST

While the political leaders of Poland were trying to shift with the wind which would bring their unhappy nation the most good, the people of Poland were living through some of the greatest horrors which the war produced. A whole nation was suffering the ex-

cruciating pains of hunger, cold and destitution. Not only were Poles fighting their own brothers—Austrian Poles fighting Russian Poles—but at home 10,000,000 people were starving. Russian and Teuton clashed in Poland and made that tragic country the battleground upon which to fight out their rival ambitions. And in this turmoil and clash of

arms the Polish people were victimized. Out of the eleven provinces of Russian Poland only one escaped invasion. As the rival armies swayed back and forth in frenzied combat, they burned, and pillaged, and raped. A thousand miles of railroad track was ripped up. Five thousand villages were razed to the ground. Two hundred cities and towns and nine thousand villages were totally or partially destroyed. The inhabitants fled before the oncoming foe who came sweeping like a whirlwind. They hid in forests or under the

An army officer enters a once prosperous village. He informs the inhabitants that he gives them thirty minutes in which to evacuate their homes. The people are panic-stricken. Every one grasps what he can. Mothers seize their babies, others carry invalids and old people. They wander about, bewildered. Already the soldiers have begun the work of destruction. The houses are leaping into flames or bursting asunder with exploding dynamite. The miserable inhabitants gather on the banks of the nearby river, look at their



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Polish Troops Back from the Front in Warsaw

ruins of their former dwellings. They ate what they could find—which was very little. In despair they fed upon roots, bark, rind, and the decaying carcasses of horses killed in battle. The country was littered with hungry, homeless families. The devastation was worst between Lodz and Warsaw. The German armies were gaining the upper hand and were driving the Russians before them. The latter resorted to their old tricks of ruining the country behind them. Every house on the road from Lodz to Warsaw was turned by them into a heap of smouldering ruins. Whole populations were expelled from their villages. The following scene was common:

homes disappearing in smoke, and weep. It rains. Their clothes are soaked, their bodies drenched. They are numb with pain. They see only their homes red with devouring flames. All that they have is being wiped out forever. They can only weep. . . . When the houses are burned down, the peasants crawl back to them and hide among the ruins. At night, when no sentinel can see them, they creep to the weeping willows on the shore of the nearby river and chew the bark or roots to stay their mad hunger. In the morning, when the sun rises the plain is filled with the dead bodies of peasants. . . . And this happened to thousands and thousands of families.

THE GREAT EXODUS

As the German foe triumphantly drove the Russian armies before him, the Polish families embarked on an exodus such as the world has seldom seen in its history. The roads were choked with carts on which the families who had anything to take with them were

They did not know. The men and women sat on top of the carts with dull and vacant eyes staring into the hopeless distance. All day long and all night long these fugitives crawled along the roads of Poland, until the roads of the country were strewn with the bleached bones of thousands of them who had starved to death. Families were separated,



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The Polish Military Mission in New York

The Polish Military Mission were received by Mayor Hylan at City Hall after they had completed a three weeks' tour in the Middle West. They recruited for the Polish Army which fought under Allied command in France. Premier Paderewski can be seen in the left background.

perched. Thousands went wandering on foot into Russia, into Austria, into Bohemia, into Galicia. The booming of cannon and the bursting of shells drove the poor inhabitants of the villages in fright from their houses. In the early gray of dawn they would pile up their carts with bedding, furniture, pots, pans, anything they could lay their hands on, throw the children in, too, and begin an aimless wandering. Thousands of these carts would file down the roads. Where were they going?

and wandered up and down the country hunting for each other, advertising in the newspapers of the great cities for father, mother, or son. Meantime the early successes of the Russian armies in Galicia dislodged over a million Poles who wandered into various parts of Austria-Hungary. Galicia became a vast cemetery—no human dwellings, no roads, no cultivated fields. Dogs ran wildly about, whining in hunger. Crows and ravens in search for food were tearing up with their



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Alsatian Landsturm Invades Poland

This photograph was made in a village street in Poland during the great drive into Russian territory made by General von Hindenburg, which brought his advance within six miles of Warsaw. The troops from Alsace and Lorraine were all sent to the eastern frontier in order that they would not have to fight against the French, with whom many of them sympathized.

beaks the shallow graves of Russian and Teuton soldiers. Often they would tear up the graves of Polish brothers who had killed one another—having been forced into the opposing armies by the invaders.

THE WORLD TO THE RESCUE

The unparalleled destitution of Poland touched the heart of the world. As early as October, 1914, Russian leaders started a relief fund for Poland. Kononov, a prominent member of the Duma, wrote: "The population of Poland has been forced to experience the first horrible onslaught of the wrathful enemy. All points within the sphere of the German offensive offer a picture of utter desolation. The people are fleeing in horror before the advancing enemy, leaving their homes and their property to certain destruction. An uninterrupted line of arson fire shines in the sorrowful path of the exiles. . . . The flight of these people is beyond description. One cannot fail to realize the stupefying horrors of such a deep and overwhelming national calamity. . . ." Kononov contributed 10,000 rubles to a Polish relief fund and called upon his countrymen to do the same. Russia responded generously through 1914 and part of 1915, but the anti-Russian feeling which was swelling like a great tide in Poland soon cooled this charitable enthusiasm, and helpless Poland had to look for succor elsewhere, chiefly in America, where kind hearts were helping the fallen of Europe.

THE PERFIDIOUS ROMANOV

Amidst all this misery and desolation the hearts of Polish patriots still beat with the faint hope that perhaps, perhaps Russia would carry out some of the Grand Duke's promises, that when the dead should have been buried it would be in a united and regenerated Poland. But autocratic Russia was in no hurry to free her vassal state. Poland was granted the diluted privilege of local municipal autonomy—and even that was not to take effect until 1916. Polish patriots were dumb with indignation. Is this all they were to get out of the insane suffering of the war, out of the hell of age-long persecution? How about further reform—such as the Grand Duke had

promised? The Russian imperialists, speaking through their organ, the *Novoye Vremya*, told them: "About further reforms it will be time enough to speak in the days when the general hopes of victory over the common enemy are crowned with complete success." That was in the spring of 1915. Poland became dejected and pessimistic. Her culture was perishing, her territory was smouldering in ashes, her people were dying and exiled—and for all this Russia could only tell them to wait, wait, wait. One of the Polish deputies in the Duma wrote dejectedly: "In September they framed a project of real political union; in October they spoke of Polish autonomy with legislative chambers; in November about the possibility of administrative self-government; and in December they discovered that 'more or less' self-government would be quite enough."

THE GERMAN MASTERS

It was no wonder under these horrible conditions and blasted hopes that Poland rejoiced when, in the summer of 1915, the German and Austrian armies hurled the Russian from their land and took possession of it themselves. Poland did not love the Germans and Austrians, but it had reason enough to be grateful for the change of masters. Whatever else may have been going on at the same time, the German General Staff really made some vital reforms which brought joy to all Polish patriots. In the cities real self-government was introduced. The courts used the Polish language. A national educational system was introduced into the schools, where the children were taught in the Polish tongue. Real life was infused into the University of Warsaw. The national pulse of the country began to beat more quickly at the prospects of freedom and regeneration which these reforms suggested.

POLAND'S AGONY

But all these political reforms did not alleviate the actual suffering of the people. That was more important to the average Pole. He was still hungry, still cold, still homeless. Even in the large cities the anguish of the people was intense. Germany had to

feed her own armies. She was also menaced by a maritime blockade and had to shut her own frontiers to prevent all exportation. Poland could expect no food from her new conquerors. And very little came from any other source. A deadly famine ravaged the whole country. In Warsaw alone there were 300,000 miserable paupers with their feeble children. In every city gaunt human shapes—reduced almost to skeletons—leaned against houses, too limp and exhausted to whisper the word "help." The sidewalks were lined

A poignant cry sprang from the lips of Henry Sienkiewicz, the great Polish author of *Quo Vadis*, who paints in one passionate stroke the terrible conditions of his country. "Have you any idea of the misery that has been inflicted on the Polish people by the operation of the war? Has Europe any adequate conception of the state of affairs in the territory now occupied by the various armies? Woe upon woe has fallen upon Poland. The war has swept like a destructive machine over the land. The whole country is devastated.



Retreat of the Russian Artillery

On the Moscow-Vilna Road, where Napoleon lost many of his men in the famous retreat from Moscow.

with beggars, hands stretched out in silent appeal. They were too weak to cry for bread. The intelligent part of the nation, the professional and educated classes, could find no work and could not overcome their shame to beg. They sat searching the bare walls of their rooms with vacant eyes for some miraculous intervention of Heaven. But none came. Epidemics of the most deadly and widespread nature wiped out whole sections of the country. Typhus and gastric diseases struck down people in the streets. Philanthropists appointed workers who went about dispensing what help they could; but the pangs of Poland were too great to be much alleviated by such piecemeal aid.

The fields are neglected, having nobody to work them. All the available cattle have been requisitioned by the passage of three belligerent armies. Food of all kinds is rare, and the prices are high. Worst of all, there is no milk for the Polish babies, who are dying by the thousands for sheer lack of nourishment. . . . Here indeed is one of the most heartrending—if not the supreme—tragedy of the war."

THE SCAPEGOAT OF THE NATIONS

A very tragic figure in tragic Poland at this time was the Jew. Many towns in Russian Poland and Galicia were predominantly

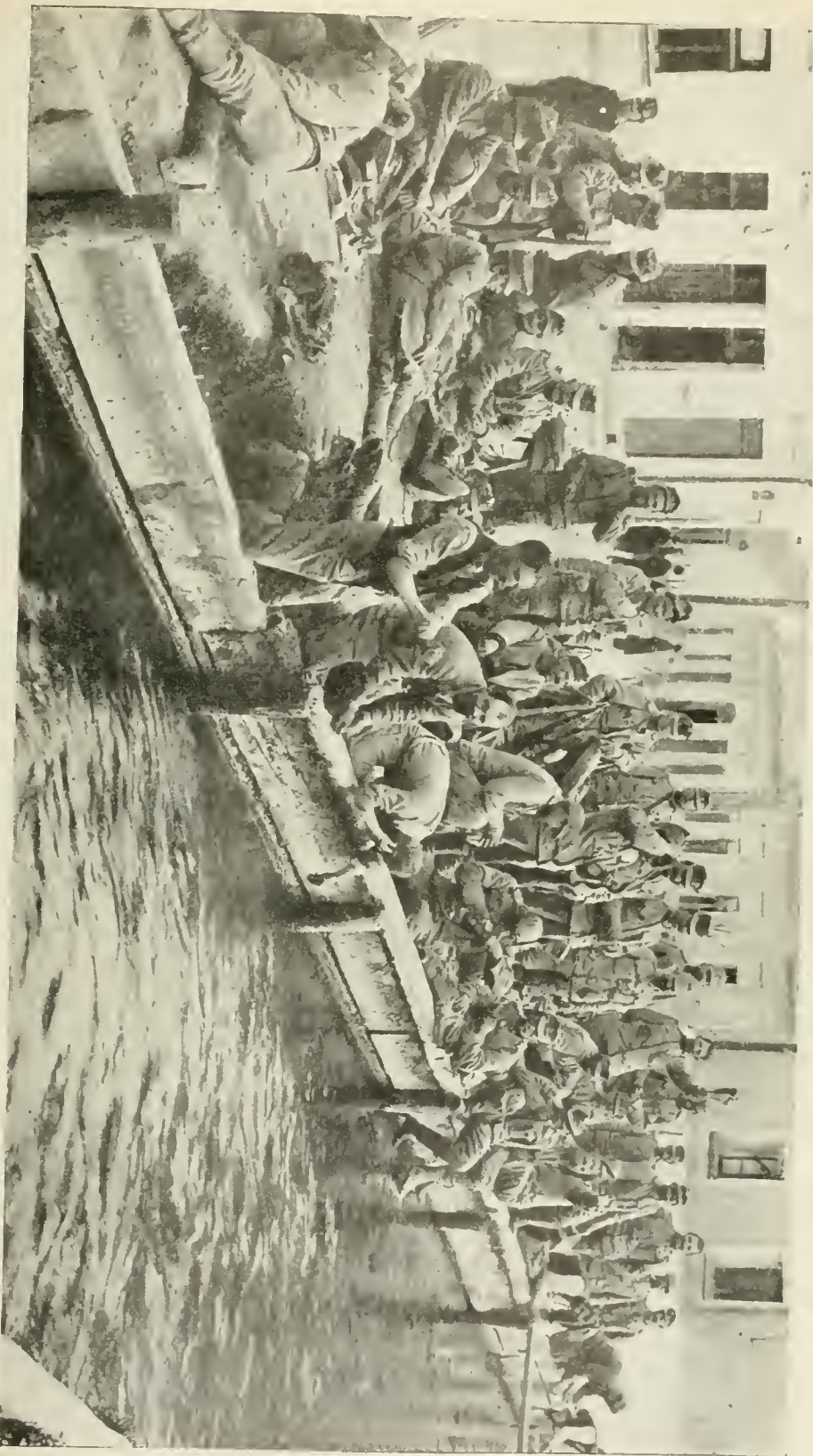
Jewish. The Jews formed the middle class of the population, the traders and business men. Before the war they had already felt the effects of anti-Semitism. Now it broke out with greater fury. Much of the general suffering in Poland fell upon the heads of the Jews. The armies that swayed back and forth in Poland and Galicia fought in Jewish towns and villages. The great fortresses captured or besieged stood in the very heart of the Jewish population. The Vilna correspondent of the *London Standard* wrote in the early part of 1915: "Riding on horseback over a distance of fully a hundred miles I can truthfully assert that there is not a stretch of one-half mile on the entire territory which can now be called arable soil. Trenches, pits, dugouts, embankments, mounds are everywhere . . . rarely is a sound tree to be seen anywhere. All bear the marks of shell and shrapnel. Houses and huts are in various stages of ruin and devastation. The fields are littered with wreckage of transport wagons, harness, remnants of barricades and fences. . . . The position of the Jews is most pitiful, as the larger cities of Russia are closed to them, as are all the governments north and east of the governments of Vilna and Warsaw. This, notwithstanding the fact that over 300,000 Jews are at present fighting in the ranks of the Russian Army, and from official sources I have gathered that up to date 26 Jews have been decorated with St. George's Cross . . . for conspicuous valor on the field of battle."

Despite the devotion of the Jews to the country in which they were living, anti-Semitic groups added *pogroms* to their already heavy burden of pain. During the period of mobilization the Polish newspaper *Głos Lubelski* incited to massacres by falsely pointing to England as an example. Heavy headlines announced: "In England great *pogroms* against Jews. English Government does not check them." The anti-Semites spread all sorts of rumors that the Jews were hoarding food, smuggling gold to the Germans, acting as spies for the enemy, poisoning the wells. The Jews were caught between two hostile peoples. The Austrians massacred them on the pretext that they helped the Russians; the Russians massacred them on the pretext that they helped the Austrians. The *pogroms* were

accompanied by murder, rape, torture; so that many Jewish soldiers in the different armies went mad at the sight of what was happening to their co-religionists while they were doing their duty.

THE KINGDOM OF POLAND

While Pole and Jew were thus being tortured, Germany was preparing to use Russian Poland as a buffer state between herself and her Slav rival in the east. In order to make it as difficult as possible for Russia ever to reconquer Poland, the new masters of the country were fostering the spirit of nationalism until it burst out as a leaping flame that swept through the entire population. All the measures connected with local autonomy, the use of the Polish language, the establishment of a university—were directed toward fanning this flame. But the Poles were not entirely satisfied. Germany had announced no definite policy. It merely reassured Poland that under no circumstances would it be returned to Russia. After almost a year of occupation, Germany and Austria at last consented to declare Poland an independent kingdom with a hereditary monarch and a constitution. This was to go into effect after the war. This was set forth in the proclamation read by Governor General von Beseler in the Royal Palace of Warsaw on November 5, 1916. "The allied monarchs," he told the Assembly, "most solemnly guarantee the reestablishment of the Kingdom of Poland. This pact cannot be any more overturned." It was made clear, however, that this new kingdom was to comprise only Russian Poland. Not an inch of their own Polish territories would Germany or Austria cede to the new kingdom. This was, of course, a deep disappointment to the Poles of all three sections, whose dearest dream had been that of reunion as well as regeneration. Shrewd Poles perceived without any difficulty that the whole scheme was no more than a pompous humbug to win the allegiance of Poland to the Central Powers. The will of the people of Poland was not consulted. The new kingdom was given no access to the sea, and without that its freedom and autonomy was not worth much. It was set up to be a mere economic and military annex to Germany and Austria. After hoping



A Welcome Halt on a Weary March

Travel-worn Austrian soldiers, who took part in the great Teutonic drive into Russia, resting on the bank of a canal near the Galician-Russian frontier.

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German Soldiers in a Russian Forest

Note the construction of the huts, which are covered with evergreen boughs plastered on the outside with mud. Chimneys indicate the presence of heating facilities. The soldiers devised many comforts for themselves in such primitive quarters.

and suffering for years Poland could look forward to very little.

GERMANY MAKES ITS POLICY EVIDENT

Very soon Germany's real aims in setting up the phantom kingdom became patent. Five days after the farce at Warsaw the Central

Powers issued a proclamation calling upon the Russian Poles to volunteer for a Polish army. The proclamation promised Poland the institutions she needed, but reminded her that of these "the Polish Army is the most important." It cried to the Poles: "Rise, valiant men!" But the valiant men were slow to rise. The cruelties which the Poles had suf-

fered under the Germans, the hunger, the insults, the deportations, made them deaf to these hypocritical appeals. The more prudent of the Poles wanted to play safe. What if Russia and the Allies should win—where would a Poland which had fought for Germany stand? Few recruits answered the call.

NO ARMY—NO FREEDOM

Germany was very eager to get Polish soldiers, but not so eager to keep her promises

Poland which refused to raise a volunteer army. If such an army could not be raised—well, even England, with her boasted freedom, resorted to conscription. At the same time the German police in Poland were ordered to overcome "the repugnance to work," which, alas, seemed to have infected the Polish workmen as seriously as it had the Belgians under like conditions. These workers were to be forced to accept work in Germany so that the German workers could be released for the Army. . . .



The Deadly Hand Grenade

The Russians used many patterns, and special dare-devil squads were picked to advance recklessly to their death. Their work was especially valuable against machine-guns. The squads had to be replaced with great frequency, as the work was most dangerous.

to establish a National Government. Poles looked forward to that in vain. At last the Central Powers set up a shadow of a National Government in the form of a temporary State Council. This Council, under pressure from the German General Staff, suddenly found it a "pressing and joyous duty" to create a "numerous and well-disciplined" Polish Army. This army was to swear allegiance not only to the provisional State Council but also to the governments of Germany and Austria-Hungary. The German Chancellor frankly made it known that "the necessity which knows no law" would waste very little time on a

THE RELEASE OF POLAND

In March, 1917, the Russian people stood up with a mighty shout and broke their chains. The new government immediately held out these freed hands to the peoples of the world. It immediately declared Poland a free state, and this offer of freedom was received with enthusiasm by the Poles themselves. The proclamation issued by the Lvov Government read in part: "Polish brothers! For you also the hour of great decisions has struck. Free Russia calls you to her ranks in the fight for the liberty of the people. . . . Bound to Rus-

sia by a free military union, the Polish state will be a solid rampart against the pressure of the Central Powers against the Slav nations." Starving Poland was delirious with joy. At last its real liberation had come—a release from the power under whose domination they legally were until the signing of a peace treaty. The new hope held out by Russia made the harsh bureaucratic measures of the German conquerors seem all the harsher. The Poles began to grumble at the scarcity of food, and at the delay of forming a ministry or appointing a regent, as the Central Powers had promised to do. Even the Moderates who had compromised with the Germans and entered the State Council were dissatisfied. Joseph Pilsudski, the popular hero who had raised Polish troops to fight for Austria, now resigned from the Council. He was willing to lead an army under a National Government, but not under a gang of political adventurers. The recruits who had answered the call for an army refused to take an oath of allegiance to the Central Powers. It was no longer safe to keep these troops in Warsaw. They might make trouble. Pilsudski seemed dangerous, too, and with their usual stupidity the Teutons threw this idol of the Polish people into jail as a conspirator against their amiable rule. That was the last straw. The entire Council of State resigned.

THE FIRST POLISH GOVERNMENT

The Russian Revolution had upset Germany's position completely. She could no longer give Poland freedom—Poland *was* free. German and Austrian occupation of Poland now became an obstacle in the way of Polish national regeneration. The Poles writhed under the yoke. The Polish deputies in the Austrian Parliament caused a serious crisis by revolting. They threatened to vote against the budget and thus upset the whole conduct of the war. They frankly wished to blackmail their government into setting up an independent Polish kingdom on an anti-German basis. But the Central Powers could only, with their large interests at stake, offer Poland either an army without a government or a government without an army. The Russian Revolution had made the chances of

raising an army very slight. A Polish government was the only solution. But Germany did not wish to withdraw yet. So a government was set up under its jurisdiction. The new National Government consisted of a Regency Council of three members, a Premier and cabinet, and a Council of State. Final authority in all matters was still retained by the Central Powers. The first Regency Council was composed of Prince Lubomirsky, one of the most reactionary leaders of the Polish aristocracy, a conservative by birth and position; and two other reactionaries. Kucharzewski was made Premier.

POLAND AND BREST-LITOVSK

The tragedy of the Polish people is so involved that follow it out as we will some complication confronts us. Not only were the peasants scattered and starving, not only were the Jews being massacred by the oppressed oppressors, but a deep cleavage in interests between the upper and lower classes of the population laid the helpless country more than ever at the mercy of its enemies. Under the new restricted national government Poland was trying to solve its problems, to rebuild its ruins, to feed its dying people. But at the same time the imperialists of Poland were desirous of securing what they felt to be the proper national boundary in the Ukraine. And now by February, 1918, the Bolsheviks were already negotiating for a separate peace at Brest-Litovsk, and the new Polish government was trying to get some representation at the conference. They hastened to Berlin and Vienna, made loyal speeches, were flattered with due diplomatic pomposity, and—got no representation. The imperialists were alarmed. "The negotiations conducted with the Ukrainians in our absence arouse legitimate apprehensions," wrote a Cracow daily. "The frontier between Poland and the Ukraine is being discussed. . . . One must pray that their outcome does not eclipse the Berlin Declarations." Polish imperialists were afraid that the Ukraine might be made a strong state before they could annex a part of it for themselves. Something worse happened. The Ukraine received a piece of Polish territory. The Polish imperialists were naturally angry. They heaped abuse



Playing on the Enemy's Nerves

In some places the hostile lines were separated by stretches of sand dunes, and the Russians, who were fond of harassing their enemies, crawled along these dunes in strangely invisible ways. Luckless were the Germans who emerged from cover when they were on the move.

upon the heads of Bolsheviki and Germans alike. But the Polish masses were suffering too intensely to be worrying about frontiers. In the meantime Trotzky, on behalf of the Soviets of Russia, and the Pole Bobinski, on behalf of the Polish Socialists, were asking the Germans to withdraw their army and thus allow Poland to "determine her own destiny." But this the Polish imperialists opposed strenuously. The German Army, they felt, at this time stood between the Polish aristocrats and social revolution. That was a strategic advantage for the Germans, who could disregard the Polish state and parcel out land to the Ukrainians. The upper classes of Poland were so embittered at this disregard of their interests that the Premier and the entire cabinet resigned.

THE WAR AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

During the year 1918 Poland was disrupted more than ever. Various groups were pulling in different directions. While the mass of the inhabitants were still going through the horrors which had fallen to their lot since the beginning of the war, the conservatives were assisting Germany in stopping the tide of Bolshevism which threatened to sweep into Poland and from there into Germany itself. The Polish legion of the Russian Army, under the leadership of a political adventurer, revolted and carried on a campaign against Bolshevik forces. The Germans fostered this movement. They supplied and aided the first corps of the Polish Army in suppressing all Bolshevik tendencies in Russian Poland. But these Polish troops had other ambitions besides breaking the back of Bolshevism. They yearned for national freedom and reunion. And this the Germans were reluctant to give. As a result they demobilized the Polish troops, whose headquarters were at Bobruisk. The terms of demobilization were an insult to Polish national feeling. The army corps was ordered to submit without question to commands of the German staff. It was forbidden to be used as the skeleton of a Polish National Army. Contact between the troops and the Regency Council was prohibited. All arms, munitions, and equipment were transferred to the German Army, and the soldiers were gradually to be sent home.

REBELLION

Little as was the faith which the Polish people had in Germany or any other Power, it was not this they had expected for all their sufferings and compromises. This bitter disappointment of their national aspirations led to determined action on the part of Polish patriots. Polish officers and soldiers started a revolt in the Austrian Army, in order to force their aspirations upon the attention of their oppressors. The Polish "Iron Brigade," fighting under General Haller in the Carpathians, seized arms and provisions and marched from the Bukovina in Austria to Bessarabia. Part of the brigade was captured by the Germans, but the rest managed to escape and joined with the Czecho-Slovak troops which were fighting with the Allies. One hundred and fourteen of the rebels, standing under the shadow of death for mutiny, frankly announced that it was their intention to break up Austria and win freedom for Poland. They wanted no pardon, no compromise on the part of Poland to save their lives. "The fear that torments us," they wrote in a memorial to the Polish nation, "is that the real Polish strength, so vital to the success of our holy cause, may be lessened by the attempts of our political representatives in the Austrian Parliament to secure for us relief or to avert the fate that awaits us. It is therefore in our name and that of our soldiers that we plead ardently with the Polish nation, which has surrounded us with such moral comfort, to take full cognizance of our words and to desist from exercising any influence in our case. . . . If they make any attempt to secure concessions for us it will be contrary to our wishes, for we know that such concessions can only be had by pledges, compromises, and commitments which will make to the detriment of the Polish nation, and will lessen the strength of the battle for Polish freedom and independence." Such was the dauntless and fiery spirit of the patriots of Poland.

CIVIL WAR IN GALICIA

While the army was thus contributing its share to Polish freedom, the civil population of Galicia was rent into violent factions. The

Poles were at war on the Ruthenians, for they wished to present the occupation of Galicia as a *fait accompli* to the Peace Conference. In Lemberg serious riots broke out. Part of the Diet Building was burned. The Post Office was blown to pieces by dynamite. Explosions wrecked the railway station and a number of private dwellings. Many were killed, and hundreds were wounded. The city was without police, and, as usual, there were *pogroms*. The demoralized Polish sol-

way station, and their armed troops took possession of the town. The Ruthenian Army was a mob. Half of the men were Bolsheviks. Suddenly what seemed impossible occurred. Though the Poles had not one soldier in the city, resistance to the Ruthenians sprang up. Rarely if ever before could a fighting force have been so formed out of nothing and of such a type. Not only were there no soldiers; there were no weapons. The first to strike for Poland was a certain young man



Courtesy of Red Cross Magazine.

Russians Working for Their Conquerors

At the beginning of the war it was not thought necessary to provide prisoners with lodgings. Later, rude barracks were constructed but so loosely that there were gaps between the boards large enough for sparrows to fly through.

diers, left without leaders, began to pillage and loot, and, since the majority of shopkeepers were Jews, these suffered. Toward the end of 1918 the Austrian Empire was crumbling to pieces, and the Poles took advantage of it.

THE REVOLT OF LEMBERG

The correspondent of the London *Times* in Galicia thus describes how Lemberg was won from the Ruthenians: "At 4 a. m. on November 5th Ruthenian troops seized all the public buildings of Lemberg except the rail-

of 27, a general's son. He had been invalided from the army. He gathered together three boys, and the four, going up a side street, rushed a stationary motor car, attacked with their fists a Ruthenian soldier sitting in it, pitched him out, and seized the motor. They drove at breakneck speed to the munitions depot near the station where they treated a lounging sentry similarly and, while other Ruthenians were hurrying up, swiftly seized some revolvers and, leaping into the car, made off again. On their way other boys joined them and they barricaded themselves in a primary school. . . . News of the resistance

spread through Lemberg. Another group of boys—15 to 20—was the range of their ages and the most were near 15—formed a second center of resistance at a small hospice. . . . They made a sally of about a mile . . . they were successful and made prisoners. Women joined the boys. I have seen quite a number of them—strong women in soldiers' clothes, for they raided the equipment stores later—

towns in Galicia were the scene of similar fighting. Men were throwing up their work and marching to relieve Lemberg. The whole country was restless.

THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

All this while events were moving swiftly in political Poland. Even at the beginning



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The Polish Women's Battalion of Death

These Amazons helped to defeat the Ukrainian Army in a terrific battle in Lemberg during which the women lost most of their number.

with their hair escaping curiously from under the heavy Austrian helmets. As for the boys, they were an incredible sight. The city was full of them. . . . They had military uniforms which hung like curtains about their small bodies, and had rifles and bayonets." It was by these boys and women that the fierce battle was waged with the Ruthenians for possession of the city. Meanwhile other

of October it became clear to official circles at Warsaw that Germany was doomed to defeat. This knowledge produced a rapid and profound change in the attitude of the Regency Council. It could no longer afford to flirt with Germany. From the Entente alone would it expect relief and freedom. The Conservatives realized that a crisis was at hand. The Polish people were ready to rise

and overthrow the Teuton yoke; a national revolution was imminent. In order to prevent this revolution from becoming social and Bolshevik, the Conservatives realized that they must take Socialists into the government. The National Democratic Party—the Conservative organization—began to bargain with the Socialists for ministerial posts. They could come to no agreement. The Socialists would not compromise, with the result that only one member of the new ministry under Joseph Swierzynski came from the Left. That was the hero of the nation, Pilsudski, who was still in a German prison and was not asked whether or not he wanted to compromise with the government. The new government was too weak to handle the situation. At the moment when German arms were losing and the time seemed most appropriate for expelling the Germans from Poland, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs sent telegrams to Vienna and Berlin expressing a desire to continue friendly relations with the two Central Powers. The internal policy of the new government was also weak. It did nothing of note, with the result that the Polish provisional government in Galicia refused to recognize the Warsaw government.

At this critical juncture the Premier took a radical step which amounted to a *coup d'état*. He proclaimed Poland a People's Republic and invited all parties to form a government with a popular majority. This act in fact meant the abdication of the Regency which was formed to prepare the country for a monarchy. Had the Swierzynski Cabinet been forceful this proclamation would have served as the basis for a union with the Socialists, would have freed Poland from the main source of internal trouble, and marshaled all her forces against external enemies. But this manifesto was published without the consent or even knowledge of the Regency. When the Regent Prince Lubomirski heard of the move, he cried to the Premier: "You have ruined the country! You are leading it to anarchy!" The proclamation of a republic was received with joy by the Polish people. But in the midst of this joy came a bombshell. The Regency dismissed the Cabinet and forced the authors of the manifesto to retire without even waiting for the nomination of their successors.

THE SOCIALIST REVOLT

The reply to this high-handed action of the Regency Council was a Socialist *coup d'état*. The two parties of the Left, the Polish Socialist and Polish People's Party, proclaimed a popular government at Lublin. They issued a proclamation providing for a republic, a constituent assembly, universal suffrage, nationalization of land, eight-hour day, free education, confiscation of capital earned in the war, and other radical measures. The hope was expressed that the Germans would soon withdraw from all Polish territories. And, added the manifesto, should this hope fail they would be expelled by force of arms. The army which was to carry out this task was placed under temporary command until the return of General Pilsudski.

THE DICTATOR PILSUDSKI

Meantime events in Germany forced the government there to release its political prisoners. Among these was Pilsudski. But even before the government officially released him, a rebellious mob broke into the jail and released the idol of Poland. On November 10th Pilsudski arrived at the station at Warsaw. A tremendous crowd pressed in upon him with cheers and showered him with flowers. All day long delegations from military and political organizations visited the popular general and asked him to become the head of the government. Invitations to take up the leadership of Poland came from all sides, and the Socialist government at Lublin was the first to submit to his authority. For three days Pilsudski deliberated with the Regency Council. Messages were sent to Cracow, Posen, and the National Committee in Paris that the German occupation was at an end and inviting the various parties to send representatives to form a national government, which should truly represent all the various factions in the state. After three days of expectation the country learned to its relief that the Regency formally abdicated in favor of Pilsudski. He became virtual dictator, since both the reactionary Regency at Warsaw and the Socialistic government at Lublin could not count upon the support of the country.

THE EXPULSION OF THE GERMANS

The new government at once began negotiating with Berlin for freedom from German invasion. Under pressure from the revolutionary movement in Germany itself, the tottering Hohenzollerns promised to hand over the administration of the country to the Poles by December 1st. But they immediately set to work to extort the last possible measure of raw materials and articles of prime necessity. The starvation and misery of the Polish people did not stop this pillage. Pilsudski was enraged. He ordered the disarmament of all Germans on Polish territory. By the 15th of November not a single armed German detachment was left on the soil of Poland. In Galicia the Poles summarily expelled the Teutons from their land, and Poland was free at last.

By December 1st the Polish National Government was so exasperated with the merciless procedure of the Germans that it broke off all relations with Berlin and ordered General von Beseler and his entire staff to leave. Count Kessler, the envoy of the Kaiser, was also expelled. The latter was hated by the Polish people to such an extent that when he set up the German Legation at the Hotel Bristol in Warsaw he was driven out one night by a mob which invaded the hotel shrieking: "Down with Kessler! Down with the Red Count!" The mob then broke open the Legation rooms, searched the papers, and threw them about in mad confusion. Conspiracies were formed by extreme Polish patriots to assassinate the German envoy. Finally in December he was notified that the Polish Government had severed all relations with Berlin and that he would be given his papers at once.

The expulsion of the Germans was accomplished when the truce had already come, when Germany was cracking under the strain of revolution, and the Allies were ready to reconstruct Europe on a new basis. As the Teuton troops left the soil of a united Poland a sigh of relief arose from the people. The enemy had ravaged and pillaged and oppressed to such an extent that even Poland, long accustomed to suffering and ruin, had groaned in despair. At it was, Poland was still menaced by the German troops of General Hoff-

man, concentrated at the border about Minsk and Vilna.

A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF

The expulsion of the Germans from Poland by no means left the country peaceful or united. The very first difficulty that presented itself was a struggle between the two great social classes. The class-war which was raging on both flanks of Poland—in Russia on the one hand and in Germany on the other—did not leave her unaffected. The dictator Pilsudski was the idol of the masses. More than that, he was the leader of the moderate Socialists, supported by the organized Socialist parties and carrying on the administration through a cabinet composed exclusively of Socialists. Although this moderate Socialist government was waging war on the Bolsheviki and had in mind a mild form of Socialism to be introduced by legal means, it was entirely too radical for the Polish Conservatives. The great landowners wanted a government that would not threaten them, as Pilsudski's government did, with the nationalization of land and mines. Roman Dmowski, the reactionary leader, who frankly favored a monarchy, set the political machinery rolling to introduce Conservative members into the government.

The Conservative elements at Warsaw began an agitation for a reorganization of the cabinet. Pilsudski was obdurate, and the Conservatives began to hunt about for a popular figure that would rival him among the masses. That figure was found in the person of the great pianist, Ignace Jan Paderewski. He was famous the world over as a great musician. Besides, he was a descendant of a noble and ancient Polish family. Paderewski was in America, and a Polish convention, held at Detroit towards the end of 1918, gave him credentials to represent the "4,000,000 Poles of America."

THE WARSAW REVOLT

When Paderewski arrived in Warsaw the clericals and reactionaries met him at the station, showered him with flowers, and gave him an ovation. Then they set to work to bargain with Pilsudski for a reorganization of the cabinet. Pilsudski would not have them.



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The Kaiser on a Visit to the Eastern Front

Prince Oscar, the Kaiser's fifth son, is shown examining some plans and watching the movements of troops through the telescope.

Prince Eustace Sapieha, a reactionary landowner, and a few followers tried a *coup d'état*. They seized the State offices and the headquarters of the Warsaw garrison, arrested several of the Socialist ministers, and waited for several regiments that had been promised to them to revolt. But the troops refused to move against their idol Pilsudski. Several of Prince Sapieha's followers arrested Pilsudski's chief-of-staff, Colonel Szeptycki, and ordered him to go to the Palace de Saxe. When the party arrived there, Colonel Szeptycki swung round to the guards and ordered them

people—the general refused absolutely either to give up power or to form a new cabinet.

THE POLISH TANGLE

These internal complications caused much worry not only to the Poles themselves but to the Peace Conference at Paris, which was trying to unravel the tangled skein of affairs. One of the chief causes for worry to the Great Powers was the fact that, although an armistice had been signed, the Poles were actually waging war and that on three sep-



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An Ancient Bridge Destroyed by Turks

The great stone structure which spans the Narin River in Mesopotamia was blown up by Turkish forces during their retreat before the victorious British.

to arrest the men who had arrested him. The guards obeyed. The colonel then told the Prince that under no circumstances would he permit the army to take part in politics. Pilsudski went to see the Prince and after a heated conversation induced him to drop the rebellion. That same afternoon he also talked with Paderewski. The interview was unsatisfactory. Although the musician insisted that he had received plenary powers from over 4,000,000 Poles in America, that he had the power to make loans to the Polish Government and that he had messages from the Allied Governments to the effect that Pilsudski would not be recognized because he represented no more than ten per cent. of the

arate fronts. They were fighting the Bolsheviks to prevent their doctrines from filtering into the country and from there into Western Europe; they were fighting the Ukrainians for strips of territory on which both peoples had set their hearts, and they were fighting the Czechs for a similar reason. At the same time they were trying to set up an independent republic. The Peace Conference was not much concerned over the war with the Ukrainians. It encouraged and aided the war with the Bolsheviks. But the war with the Czechs was a considerable difficulty. Daily the Poles were sending requests to Paris for munitions and food to help them carry on the fight against their enemies. The Allies

wanted very much to help Poland against the Bolsheviks, but how could they prevent Poland from using the same food and weapons against the Czechs?—and the Czechs were a recognized nationality on the same independent basis as Poland, with delegates sitting at the Peace Conference, at the same table with the Polish delegates. The multiplicity of her difficulties caused Poland to lose ground. This worried the Allies even more. For them to

compromise was necessary. Paderewski began to be played up as a romantic popular hero. His world-wide fame as an artist and his untiring efforts to obtain relief for his countrymen from America were fanned to their fullest capacity, until by February 9th he was able to form a cabinet with himself as Prime Minister and General Pilsudski as Minister of Foreign Affairs. This arrangement is still in effect.



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British Supply Depot on the Suez Canal

British official photo showing wheat being unloaded at the Suez Canal. British soldiers are shown directing the work of the laborers.

help Poland against the Czechs would be bad. For them to allow the Czechs to beat the Poles would be just as bad, because the one point concerning eastern Europe upon which all the Allies agreed was a strong Poland to act as a safeguard against German expansion to the east and the spread of Bolshevism to the west.

THE COMPROMISE

In the face of these tremendous difficulties which threatened the national existence of Poland and with it the dream of the people for union, independence, and regeneration, the various factions saw that some sort of

THE WAR WITH BOLSHEVISM GROWS

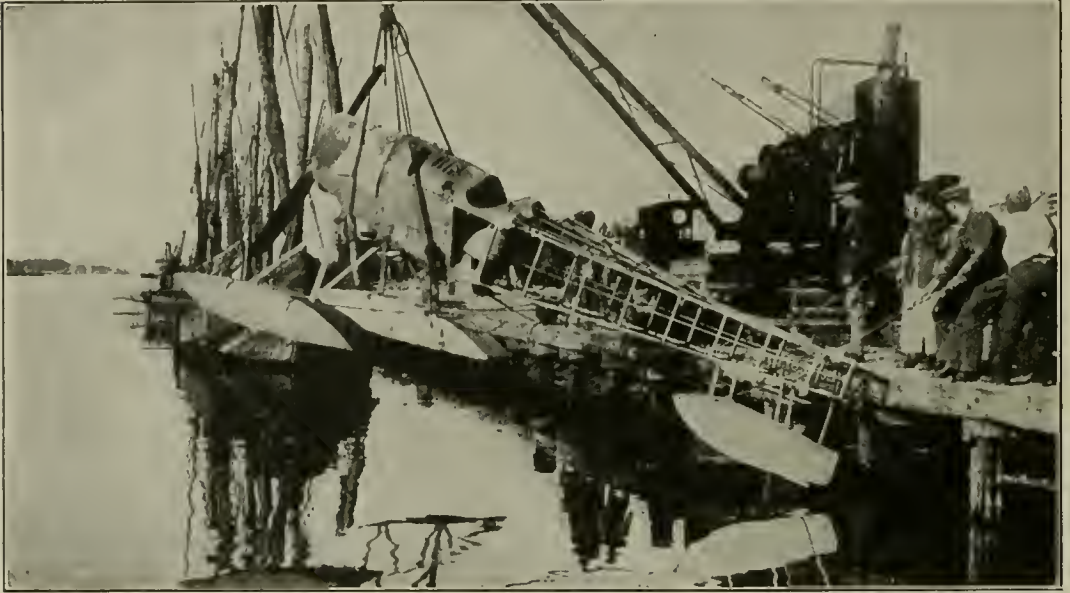
While politicians were fighting among themselves for the control of the government, the troops were fighting against the Bolsheviks, whose Red Army was pressing on toward Vilna and Warsaw like a huge red wave. And while the battles were raging in the capital of Lithuania, Poland itself was infected with Bolshevism. The waiters and janitors of Warsaw went out on strike in the early part of 1919. The domestic servants refused to do work unless they received help from their mistresses. The waiters demanded 15 per cent, and the cooks 25 per cent, of the

profits of the hotels in which they worked. Lodz and other cities were reported in a state of anarchy. According to these reports men were parading the streets with red flags, listening to agitators, and howling: "Down with the Jews! Down with the Mayor!" The doctrines of Bolshevism were finding ready listeners among the Polish workmen who returned from the various fronts and their places of exile to find a Poland without food, without work, their wives and children in misery, their homes in ruins. They had heard the se-

of the country into their own hands. Such methods were the despair of the Polish leaders. They begged the Allies to allow them to raise a strong well-equipped army of 500,000 men. "Can you fight Bolshevism with a Bible?" pleaded Paderewski. No, only an army could save Europe from that peril, he said.

THE DESPAIR OF THE PEOPLE

Poland presented fertile ground for Bolshevik ideas because the widespread agony



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The Watch on the Suez Canal

The first seaplane ever launched at the Suez Canal left the water in the presence of British officers in April, 1919.

ductive theories of Bolshevism in Germany; and the presence of Russian Reds on the soil of Poland was a real menace to the upper classes. The Bolsheviki fought with a most unusual and captivating method. They talked. In the midst of a battle one of them would climb out of his trench, spread his hands out in crucifix fashion, and begin to walk toward the Poles. They could not fire on an unarmed man who seemed to want mere parley. When he arrived at the trench he would begin making a speech, calling them comrades, reminding them of their sufferings under the capitalist system, call upon them to revolt and take the government and industry

which had racked and tortured the masses from the very beginning of the war was still at a high pitch. A report issued by Mr. Felix M. Warburg, Chairman of the Joint Distributing Committee of Jewish War Relief, thus describes conditions: "We find no animal in Poland that can pull a plow. We find no plow. We find nobody working. And worse than that, we find nobody in the mood to prepare for the future which looks so uncertain. We find a roaming, sad-eyed, despondent mass of humanity, stripped of its hopes and fearing the next day, deprived of ideals and just as ready to die as to continue its present life. No clothing is to be had.

Thread, needles and washable materials are needed to take the place of the filthy rags which are knotted in some dreadful makeshift way that exposes bare bodies and feet. . . ."

THE RECOGNITION OF POLAND

Meanwhile the Paderewski and Pilsudski factions had come to a complete understanding. In February the Polish National Assembly met, and to it Pilsudski formally turned over his power as dictator. It was a strange gathering of delegates. There were peasants in national costumes, and here and there a solemn-robed priest or a bearded rabbi. The leader of the peasants, M. Vito, sat in the front row of seats in the white-embroidered, loose-fitting costume of the Galician peasant. Paderewski and Pilsudski, the rival candidates for the presidency of the republic, both made patriotic addresses and were much applauded by their followers. The next day the Provisional Government, headed by Paderewski as Prime Minister, was formally recognized by the Allies. This recognition ended the controversy among the various groups of conservatives and radicals.

The Assembly was predominantly conservative, the majority of the popular votes having gone to the party of Paderewski and Dmowski. The Socialists received 15 per cent. of the votes and Jewish candidates received about 8 seats. It seemed that Paderewski would be elected President. He was the favorite of the Allies. But it turned out that Pilsudski's popularity with the Army was too strong. The presidency went to him, and his cabinet was headed by Paderewski.

THE PROBLEM OF DANZIG

The new republic of Poland had its heart set on Danzig from the very beginning. Its national existence was worth very little and could not last long, it said, unless it had an outlet to the sea. Danzig, the Poles claimed, was indispensable to their existence. With Danzig in Germany's hands they became her economic slaves. They would be obliged to do business through German merchants, German ports, and German banks. Danzig rightfully belonged to them for historic reasons.

But the Germans said they would not give up Danzig. President Ebert told the Allies that Germany could not and would not sign a peace which involved the annexation of Danzig by Poland. Meanwhile the Poles were taking things into their own hands. While the Peace Conference was trying to adjust conflicting interests, there were Polish up-



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Building a "Tower of Babel" with Biscuits

The British biscuit corresponds to the American "hard-tack." Immense quantities of this food were shipped regularly to all war fronts. This picture shows the Tommies piling up the boxes at Salonika.

risings in Posen. When General Foch ordered the Germans to permit General Haller's Polish troops to pass through Danzig, the Germans, suspecting an attempt to hold the port by force, took measures to resist any move on it. The German Government began recruiting for "frontier protection" against the aggressive Poles. All former soldiers of East Prussian regiments were exhorted to "reassemble under their old valor-

ous leaders in order to teach the Poles a merited lesson." They were called upon to take up arms "once more and fight to the last man for their homes." The German authorities in Silesia suppressed all Polish meetings.

The final Treaty of Peace, as signed by Germany in June, 1919, gave to Poland, in the west, practically the whole former Prussian province of Posen, and the greater part of West Prussia; in Upper Silesia a referendum was to be held, under the auspices,

apparently, of the American Army, to discover whether the majority of the inhabitants wish to be annexed to Poland. Danzig was created an independent city state, as of yore, and placed under the control of the League of Nations; but it was apparently understood that the League would see to it that Poland will exercise a large influence in the city. It is to be hoped that Poland, thus reborn, will serve as an effective barrier against German aggression toward the East.

THE BALTIC PRIZE

Livonians and Esthonians, at Odds over Bolshevism, Unite in Wishing Independence

NO seaboard in Europe has been so fiercely fought for as the Baltic. From the earliest times Sweden and Denmark have wrangled over the provinces that lie upon its southeastern shore, while for the last four centuries Russia and Germany have been the two titans that have battled for this rich prize. As far back as the thirteenth century the Teutonic knights overran Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland; and since that time these provinces have had a German cultural stamp which no subsequent changes have been able to efface. To this very day the powerful Baltic Province nobility, owning nearly all the land, and the upper classes of the towns, are of German blood and intensely aware of their Teutonic heritage. The medieval prosperity of the provinces was rudely shattered by Czar Ivan the Terrible, who ravaged the country with his Russian hordes, and left it so weak and helpless that for nearly two centuries it was the shuttlecock among Sweden, Poland, and Russia. For a hundred years the region belonged to Sweden, until in 1721 Charles XII succumbed to Peter the Great, who was fighting for a window to the sea, and the Provinces became Russian.

THE SUBMERGED PEASANTS

The conquest of the Baltic Provinces by Russia did not change the real rulers of the

peasants of the region. The land was still controlled by the German barons, descendants of the Teutonic knights. The peasantry of Courland and southern Livonia are mainly Letts, a tall, fair people of Aryan stock. Not only the peasantry, but many of the middle classes as well, are Lettish. The German masters of the Letts were allowed to exercise their feudal privileges undisturbed by the Russian Government. It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the Pan-Slavic movement caused the bureaucracy at Petrograd to attempt the Russification of the Baltic Provinces. The old liberties were swept away, Russian arbitrary rule was clamped down upon the inhabitants, and efforts were made to extirpate German culture and to convert the people from Lutheran Protestantism to Russian Orthodoxy.

In these efforts to Russify the provinces the Czar resorted to his old trick of setting the various elements against one another. He encouraged the Lettish and Esthonian peasantry to strive against their German masters. This policy was successful in so far as the peasants retained their old national languages and customs, and dreamed, like so many other submerged peoples, of national independence. But the bitter struggle for predominance among the various race elements soon took a form which was not at all to the liking of the Russian autocracy. The social revolution

of 1905 swept through the Baltic Provinces like wildfire. The Lettish and Esthonian peasantry rose against their German lords, demanded more just treatment, equal division of land, and the abolition of feudal privileges. To crush the revolt the junkers notified the Czar that the peasants were seeking to rebel so as to form a republic. At that time that was hardly true, for the masses merely wanted

THE REVENGE OF THE LETTS

The cruel suppression of the revolt of 1905 left bitter memories rankling in the breasts of the Baltic peasantry. Against the Russian people they had no grievance, but against their German tyrants they had an implacable hatred. As a result, when the war broke out in 1914, the masses of Esthonia, Livonia, and



Another Declaration of Independence

A meeting of representatives of oppressed nations in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

autonomy with a Diet at Riga. In July, 1905, the agricultural laborers shook the entire region to its very foundations by a strike. The junkers appealed to Petrograd, and Petrograd rushed soldiers to the Provinces, who quelled the uprising in blood. The most brutal measures, however, were undertaken by the German barons themselves, to whom the Russian Government gave a free hand. Their actions were suggestive of the way in which the barons of 1525 crushed the Peasants' Revolt.

Courland rushed to the support of the Slavic Empire. The Lettish representatives in the Duma at once asked permission to form a Lettish Legion. At first this was refused, but in July, 1915, the government consented. Such was the courage and power of the Lettish regiments that only a few months after their formation their deeds were published in the official Russian communiqués. More and more frequently their name was mentioned until their fame spread from one end of the

Russian Empire to the other, then to the rest of Europe, and finally to America. So magnificent was their defense of Mitau, the capital of Courland, that the Czar was forced to realize the wish of the whole Lettish people for a national army. No more momentous event could take place under the Czar's régime so long as it lasted. Never before had any of the peoples of Russia been allowed to form a national army of their own. The



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Signaling by Heliograph

This signaler is working at the advanced British headquarters at Kara Tepe, Gallipoli. The officer at the right is confirming the message by telephone.

Lettish people kept pouring their best sons into the fast dwindling ranks of this army which was breasting the German tide to prevent it from overwhelming Russia. All through 1915 and 1916 they fought against the Germans they so hated.

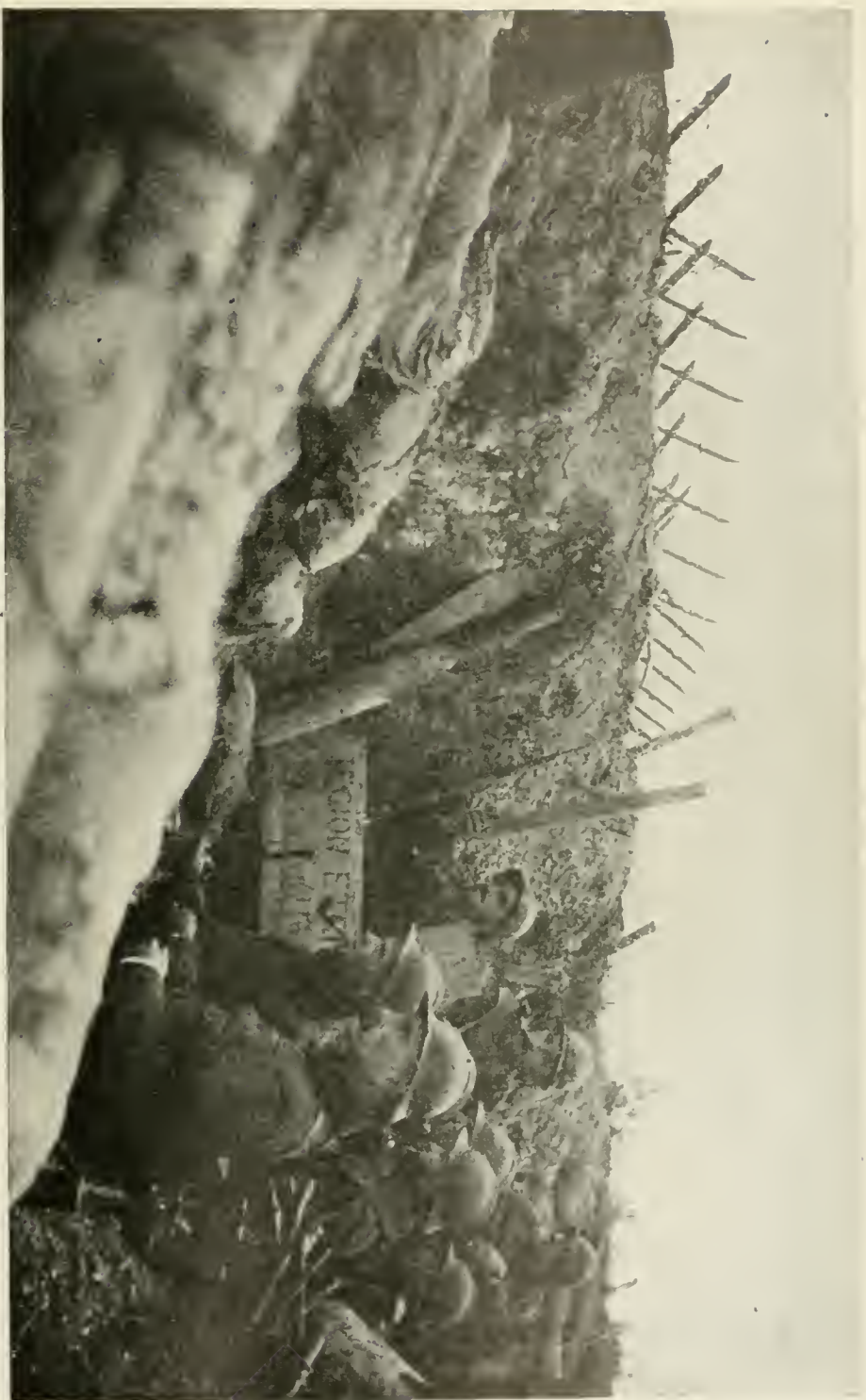
DEFEAT AND REVOLUTION

While the Letts were struggling against great odds, corruption within Russia was stabbing them in the back. Three times they broke the Riga front at great loss; three times

they had to recede because the Russian general staff sent them no reserve help. At last they had to evacuate the territory which they had defended with suffering and blood, and relinquish it to the German foe. As they went into reserve behind the front, officers and men began to ask themselves what all this wanton slaughter meant. They began to suspect that they had been purposely sent to destruction. A general of the Twelfth Army was quoted: "The more Letts are destroyed, the easier will Russia henceforth breathe." Then the world rocked with the crash of the March Revolution. The Letts hailed it with a shout of joy. A month later Bolshevik propaganda was winning them over in a body. The Lettish Democratic Labor Party threw in their lot at once with Lenin and Trotzky and began to organize propaganda among the Lettish troops. They started an organ—the *Struggle*—printed in Lettish by influential leaders of the Bolsheviks in Petrograd.

BOLSHEVISM AMONG THE LETTS

The song of the Bolsheviks was the same here as everywhere. "The war cannot end in victory. Germany is still very strong, and we shall have to fight on for many years. Look at yourselves. What remains of your glorious regiments? Can your tired soldiers put up a fight against the Germans? Remember, your small country has need of you. We have lost nearly all our *intelligentsia* and the flower of our youth. You see where you have been led by Russian generals. The sea of your brothers' graves lies before you on the Dwina. There lies our hope, our nation. The Russian generals have betrayed you. . . . Lettish wants you. We shall never get Courland back by fighting. Why should we go to kill German peasants who feel as we do and whose only wish is to abolish Prussian militarism? We should rather help them. We must help to put an end to the war. If we advance the Germans are obliged to fight against us. We must therefore refuse to advance. We must tell everyone to help finish the war. Then you will see revolution break out in Germany, where the Social Democrats are powerful already. We have only to help them, and only as the result of revolution in Germany can we hope to see the restoration of



Foreign Legion in the Trenches

Poles, Livonians and Estonians joined the Allies' cause and fought in France for the cause of Freedom.

Courland. In this way you will regain your country without shedding a drop of blood. It is not for us to trust those who have shed for nothing the blood of Letvia's sons. We hail the Universal Revolution—the only end to universal slaughter!" This appeal fell upon ready ears. The Letts applauded the man who uttered them in Riga in May, 1917. He has since become a recognized leader of the Committee of the Lettish Army, which soon became a Bolshevik organization.

INDEPENDENT ESTHONIA

Kerensky's government created for Esthonia a National Council elected by universal suffrage. The Esthonians hoped to become a State in the proposed Russian Federation. But the Bolshevik revolution made that seem a distant and perhaps undesirable possibility. The National Council hastened to declare Esthonia an independent state. From then on the people of the province were exposed to a double danger. On the one hand, Bolshevism and Bolsheviks were flowing into the country in irresistible waves. On the other hand, the German barons of the province were appealing to the Hohenzollerns to occupy the country with German troops. Against this appeal the Provisional Government of Esthonia protested. Germany paid little attention to this protest, and, when she resumed hostilities against Russia, overran the province. Her rule of this Baltic province was as cruel and intolerable as elsewhere. The press was gagged. Meetings were forbidden. Control of the country was returned to the German landowners. The Russian language was forbidden and Esthonian barely tolerated. The postal service was suspended. Hunger, unemployment, injustice, brutality and vio-

lence of every kind drove the Esthonians to the brink of despair. The Brest-Litovsk treaty permitted the Germans to occupy the Baltic Provinces for police purposes. The Provisional Government of Esthonia protested to the German Government, to the Bolsheviks, to the Entente, to America—all in vain.

THE WAR WITH BOLSHEVISM

Immediately after the German military collapse on the Western Front forced the German troops to withdraw from the Baltic Provinces, the Bolsheviks began to flood the borders with Red forces to spread their gospel. The Esthonians and Letts, eager to please the Allies, at once shouldered guns and took up the fight against the troops of Lenin and Trotsky. Thus we find the anomaly of the old Lettish Army acting as the chief support of Bolshevism, while the rest of Letvia, along with the rest of the Baltic coastland, is acting as a bulwark against it. In this war against Bolshevism the Esthonians and Letts are co-operating with the White Finns and the Lithuanians. As a result these peoples have all combined to present their aspirations for national self-government to the Allies. In the chapter on Lithuania will be found a joint resolution which the representatives of the Baltic provinces adopted in conjunction with the above-named peoples requesting aid against the Bolsheviks and self-determination. The Baltic problem has not ceased to be complicated. While the Lithuanians are complaining that the Poles are robbing them of territory, the Letts accuse the Lithuanians of scheming to do the same to Letvia. But that is a difficulty which is kept in abeyance in the united front which all these peoples present to Bolshevism.

HOW THE BRITISH "TOMMY" GOT HIS NAME

A writer in the *Bulletin des Armées de la République*, the official weekly of the French Army, offers this explanation:

"The English soldier is universally called 'Tommy.' Why? Because at Waterloo, a little more than a century ago, a British infantryman named Thomas Atkins, having particularly distinguished himself, was brought before the Duke of Wellington to receive special felicitations. His exploits were popularized by engravings and newspaper stories in England, where soon the name of Tommy Atkins was applied as a tribute of honor to all his comrades. Then by abbreviation the 'Atkins' was dropped and the more familiar 'Tommy' remained. That is how it happens that to-day the British soldiers are known to the masses as 'Tommies.'"—*New York Times Current History*.

THE CAUCASUS IN FERMENT

The "Meeting Place of Nations" Becomes Inhospitable After the Russian Revolution

BECAUSE of its geographical position as a meeting place between Europe and Asia, the Caucasus is inhabited by a variety of peoples and races. Chief among these are the Georgians, who once had a kingdom of their own which acted as a buffer state between the conflicting ambitions of Russia on the one hand and Turkey and Persia on the other. Such was the strategic position of the little kingdom and the ability of her rulers that in 1768, when Russia made war on Turkey, Catherine the Great concluded an alliance with it. As a result of the various conflicts between Russia and Turkey and Persia, Georgia asked the great Slav Empire for protection. In 1783 this protection was promised in a treaty in which Russia solemnly promised to respect the internal independence of the army, dynasty, and church of the kingdom. But in 1801, Russia disregarded her promises and annexed Georgia outright as a province. From that time until the Russian Revolution, the Georgians suffered the same fate as the rest of the Czar's domains. Their national feeling was trampled upon, their church was abolished and its property confiscated.

Another important race in the Caucasus are the Armenians. They, like the Georgians, are old, civilized, and Christian. They lost their independence many years before the Georgians did. Their kingdom was submerged by the Mohammedan invasion. Their real home is in Turkish territory, and only a part of it is situated in the extreme south of Transcaucasia. Up to the first half of the nineteenth century the relations between the Georgians and Armenians were very friendly, but when the Russo-Turkish War sent great numbers of Armenian refugees into Transcaucasia, there arose an agrarian problem which caused an ever increasing bitterness between the two peoples. The Armenian refugees had no other

place of escape but Georgia; at the same time it was a fact that the farms of the Georgian peasants were not large enough to accommodate them. The friction was increased by unjust demands of Armenian political parties upon historic Georgian territories. The Russian Government treated the Armenians in a friendly way until the end of the nineteenth century. Under the harsh régime of Golytzin, the Russian Government deprived the Armenian Church of its property and closed the Armenian schools.

In addition to the Georgians and Armenians, the Caucasus is inhabited in the east by the Tartars. These are of a low standard of civilization. Owing to the conflicting interests of Tartars and Armenians, the relations between the two peoples have been very bitter. This circumstance was exploited by the reactionary Golytzin, an exploitation which resulted in the atrocious massacres of Tartars and Armenians in 1904 and 1905.

THE CAUCASUS AND THE CZAR

From 1903 up to the Revolution, the Czar's rule of the Caucasian nationalities was administered through Count Voronstov. His policy was to play off the various nationalities against each other. But the Revolution of 1905 roused the peoples in the Caucasus to demand self-government. At the same time the Georgians protested against the unjust agrarian policy of the Russian Government, which was expelling Georgian peasants from their holdings in order to give the land to retired Russian generals.

Despite the injustice and oppression which the Caucasian peoples suffered under the Czar, they responded loyally at the outbreak of the war. They begged the government to let them defend Transcaucasia from the Turkish side, since they knew the mountains better than



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The Balkan Army at Adrianople

Turkish prisoners on the march guarded by the Bulgarians who captured them.

any Russian troops could. But that was too sensible a program for the autocracy. They preferred to send 300,000 Georgian reserves to Poland and Galicia. It was only when the Grand Duke Nicholas became viceroy of the Caucasus that he reversed the policy and rushed Georgian and Armenian troops to the Turkish front. The results justified the original demands of the Caucasians. They captured Erzerum and Trebizond, and occupied the largest part of Turkish Armenia at a time when the Russian armies everywhere else were being hurled back in defeat. Despite these victories, the Russian Government continued to treat the Caucasus with injustice. General Judenich forbade the Georgians and Armenians from settling on the Armenian territories which they had captured, as he intended to turn them into Cossack lands. In addition to this injustice, the Russian Government prohibited the Caucasians from building a single munitions factory. Although the mountains were rich in deposits and raw materials, the troops had to rely upon munitions coming all the way from the North.

THE REVOLUTION IN THE CAUCASUS

All this oppression came to an end with the Revolution of March, 1917, which was greeted with tremendous enthusiasm in the Caucasus. The *Manchester Guardian* correspondent thus describes the coming of the

Revolution to Tiflis on March 18th: "The streets were full of silent and serious people. . . . They were all going to a mass meeting of the Caucasian people and to welcome a great day in the history of the empire of which they were all sons. In an open space I saw a vast multitude assembled, and platforms were raised in six places. It reminded me at once of scenes at a general election in England, but it had surpassed my wildest dreams to think that I should witness such a sight in the Caucasus. Here had assembled almost every element of the multi-racial population of the Empire. There were wild mountain tribes, Lesghians, Avars, Chechens, and Swanetians in their long black coats and sheepskin caps. In the recesses of the Caucasus range where their homes lie, the Revolution had crept. . . . They had come walking across miles of mountain tracks to pay their humble tribute to the great Russian Revolution. There were picturesque peasants from the fair provinces of Georgia who had driven in bullock wagons to the city. . . . There were the Armenian merchants of Tiflis.

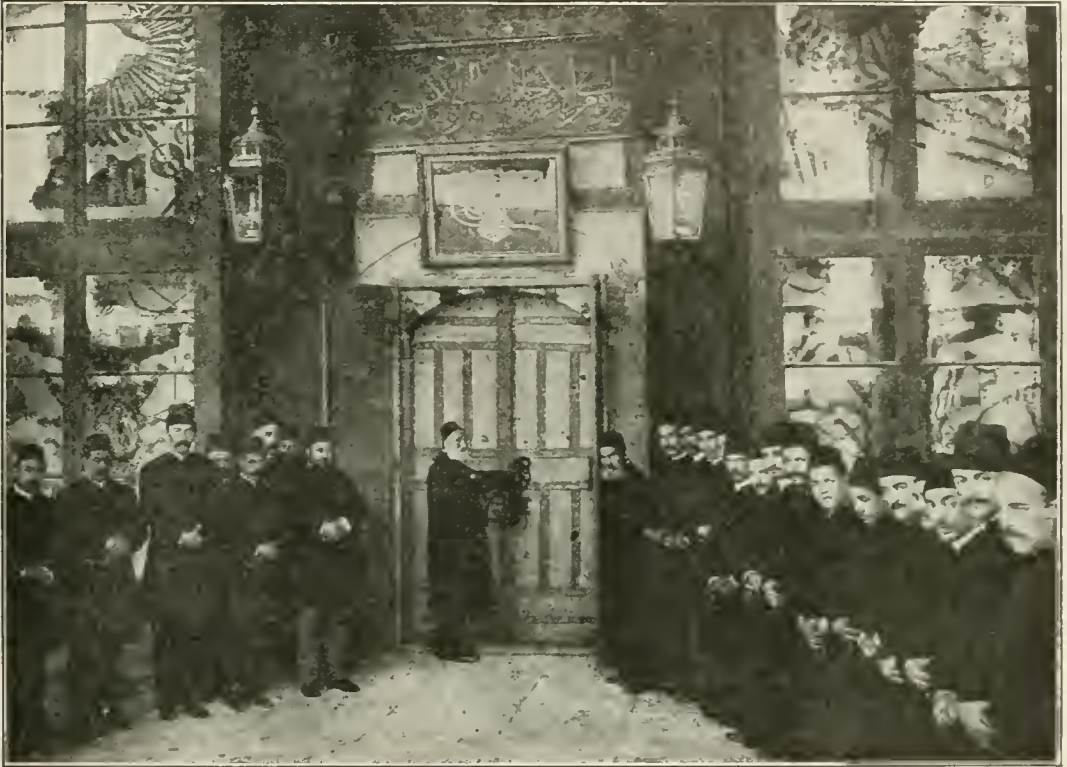


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The Mosque of Santa Sofia in Constantinople

. . . There were the Tartar peasants of the East Caucasus who helped much to inspire the revolutionary movement in Persia during 1908-9. There were the representatives of the urban proletariat from the railway works of Tiflis and from the oil-fields of Baku, the grimy products of Western European industrialism which is slowly creeping into the

and oppression. . . . When there marched into the open space a garrison regiment with a brass band which at once struck up the 'Marseillaise,' every head was bared, the mountain tribesman took off his shaggy fur cap, the long hair of the Russian student fluttered in the breeze, and the troops, who, three days before, had sung 'God Protect the Czar' now



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Opening the Imperial Treasury in Constantinople

This government act was accompanied by religious ceremonies. The keeper of the Treasury is seen unlocking the great doors which guard the entrance.

East. There were the intellectual Russian student, Georgian poet, and Armenian doctor who, up to this day of deliverance, have been forced to hide the talent of their brains. Here in this great concourse of Caucasian peoples were standing side by side the most primitive and the most progressive types of the human race. For years they had been sunk in apathy, fatalism, and scepticism, and their racial feuds had been purposely fomented by the old government. Now the flood of their combined intellect and energy had burst forth and broken the rotten banks of privilege

presented arms to the great French Revolutionary hymn. . . ."

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

But all this fine enthusiasm cooled very rapidly under the disillusionment of subsequent revolutionary events. Under Kerensky's régime the Tartars and Georgians followed the example of the Finns, Poles, Ukrainians, and Letts and demanded national independence. They were refused point blank. Immediately they decided to look after them-

selves. The Georgians, the Tartars, and the Armenians each set up a Supreme National Council. These bodies tried to coöperate with the Soviets but the task was almost impossible in a country where 85 per cent. of the people are illiterate. The Bolshevik *coup* of November, 1917, was the signal for the nationalities of Transcaucasia to break off relations with the central government. A Transcaucasian Republic was set up with a government composed of three Georgians, three Armenians, three Tartars, and two Russians. The dissolution in the Caucasus continued, and the various groups fell apart. The mountaineers formed an Independent Republic of Daghestan in the north of Caucasus. The Kuban Cossacks did the same.

WAR WITH TURKEY

At the beginning of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, Bolshevik propaganda began to

flood the Caucasus. But national freedom was too new in that part of the world to be exchanged for class-warfare. The new governments expelled all Russian troops and decided to take care of their republic themselves. They soon had an opportunity to do so. The Brest-Litovsk peace ceded part of Georgia to Turkey. The Georgians and Armenians were enraged. They did not recognize the Bolsheviks, and refused to cede anything to Turkey. Turkey addressed a note asking the Transcaucasian government to enter into negotiations over the matter. The offer was refused. Then Turkey prevailed upon the drunken sailors of the Russian Black Sea Fleet to bombard the Georgian towns along the coast, while a Turkish force advanced upon Trebizond and Erzerum. Of course this Turkish menace was removed by the sudden ending of the war. The future of the Caucasus still remained closely connected with the greater question of the future of Russia.

LITHUANIA FOR INDEPENDENCE

Controlled by German, Russian, and Pole, the Lithunians Look to Paris for Aid

THE tragedy of the Lithuanian people, like that of the Jews in Poland, lay in being oppressed by a hierarchy of tyrants. During the Middle Ages, a series of military disasters laid their country open to the influence of the Poles. The aristocracy and townsfolk became Polish in language and feeling. The peasants still retained their old Lithuanian speech and customs, but they sank into such a condition of serfdom and apathy that they exercised practically no influence on the national life. So when Lithuania fell to Russia's share during the partitions of Poland at the end of the eighteenth century it seemed as though the people had lost all sense of national or race consciousness. But the intense fire of nationalism which swept Europe in the nineteenth century kindled Lithuania too. Race feeling revived, the people became conscious of their identity, and a movement sprang up for attaining a free national existence apart

from either Russia or Poland. This movement was looked upon with a certain amount of favor by the Russian Government, since it was directed primarily against the Polish landowners, but the Poles frowned upon it. Its own national aspirations and suffering did not teach Poland to have any sympathy with the national aspirations and sufferings of the Lithuanians. The Polish aristocracy which controlled Lithuania insisted upon the inclusion of the province in any Polish state. The Lithuanians thus found themselves economically exploited by Poles and Jews, and politically oppressed by Poles and Russians.

THE NEW LITHUANIA

Until the military collapse of Russia in 1917, the history of Lithuania was inextricably bound up with that of Poland. All political moves which took Poland into consideration

never distinguished Lithuania as a separate entity. The horrors which all of Poland suffered fell in goodly measure upon the weak shoulders of Lithuania. Vilna, the ruins of which are described in the chapter on Poland, is really a Lithuanian city. The hunger, the exile, and the massacres all ravaged Lithuania. Kovno and Grodno, two important cities of the country, were depleted by famine, and stained with the blood of martyred Jews. When the Germans took control of Poland, the Lithuanians received their share of the blessings and curses which that condition car-

Four members of the council quit rather than acquiesce in such an arrangement. The majority of the people favored a republican form of government, for which over a million Lithuanians in the United States, saturated with American liberalism, were working heart and soul. But such was the pressure which Germany was able to bring upon the small kingdom that its offer was accepted, under protest. From that time on Lithuania turned to the Allies and implored them to apply their sympathy for oppressed nationalities to their crushed country.



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Main Street of Vilna, the Capital of Lithuania

ried with it. At the same time that Poland was declared an independent kingdom, Lithuania's independence was also guaranteed. But this promise was delayed again and again. Throughout 1916 rumors were current that Prince Eitel Friedrich would be the sovereign of a new kingdom of Lithuania, and that in return the country was to raise an army of 150,000 men. In 1918 Germany's intention became clear. All her fine promises of granting Lithuania independence and self-government vanished into thin air. She frankly announced her intentions of forcing a king upon that unhappy country, and chose Duke William of Urach for that post. The Lithuanian National Council at Vilna protested bitterly.

THE FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE

The chief desire of the Lithuanian nationalists was balked by Polish proposals to set up a "Poland of yore." Such a Poland would include their country and frustrate their dreams of self-government. The Lithuanians began a campaign of propaganda to enlighten the Allies as to their aspirations. They did not want, they said, a union with Slav peoples. They wanted a Baltic confederation. "The objective of the Lithuanians and the Letts, the Esthonians and the Finns," said a statement issued by the Lithuanian National Council, "differs from that of the Slav. These peoples dwell on the borders of the Baltic Sea

and the Scandinavian countries. The safety of all these nations depends upon the freedom of the Baltic Sea from German dominion, which cannot cease to be real until the Baltic Sea has been dedicated to the joint use of all the peoples dwelling along its shores and thrown open to the world at large. To force the Lithuanians into a confederation unnatural to them, such as would be the Poland of yore, would be a political and diplomatic blunder. . . ." This propaganda spread broadcast the information that the Lithuanians are a fair-haired, blue-eyed race of Indo-Aryan stock, that has nothing in common with either Slav or Teuton, and that deserves and needs independence.

THE WAR WITH BOLSHEVISM

While the Lithuanian nationalists were carrying on a campaign of propaganda and education for self-government, the people at home were facing a danger which threatened the whole of Poland, with whom the fate of the country was still largely bound up. The Bolshevik troops, in their march to spread the Revolution and to protect their government from what they called "bourgeois counter-revolutions," were marching to meet the Polish troops. Vilna lay in the path of their advance. Throngs of Lithuanians fled before them, by railways, in carts, on foot. Not only was Bolshevism coming from Moscow, but it sprang up in Lithuania itself. The hunger and suffering of the war and the oppressive exploitation of the Lithuanian peasants by their landlords made them susceptible to that body of seductive doctrine. A Bolshevik committee worked indefatigably in Vilna. Many of the members of this committee were executed by Polish troops, with the result that when the Bolsheviks captured the city in January, 1919, they made reprisals by massacring civilians. Lithuanian troops took part in the fighting against the Bolsheviks, and were doing so at the moment of writing. The Bolshevik situation was thus described by the Lithuanian National Council in a statement issued on March 29, 1919: "Lithuania has a fully equipped volunteer army of 12,000. She has more volunteers than she can equip and could have an army of 250,000 if equipment were available. . . . The front against the Bolsheviks held

by these troops is from Libau, to the north of Shavli and north of Ponevez. . . . The Bolsheviks are being pounded back two or three miles a day on most of the front. . . . Our people fight the Bolsheviks enthusiastically despite the fact that the Soviet Government recognizes Lithuania's independence. . . . The Lithuanians do not want the Bolsheviks to reach Germany and join the Spartacides. . . . The aim of Lithuania is to hold Bolshevism back in Russia until it either dies or becomes harmless."

THE WAR WITH POLAND

Although the Poles and Lithuanians are fighting shoulder to shoulder against the Bolsheviks, their national aspirations conflict. Lithuania wants complete independence, while the Pan-Polish party wants to include it in the new Poland. In the middle of November, 1918, after the German débâcle, the Council of State of Lithuania promulgated a provisional constitution under which it itself became the Lithuanian parliament. The supreme executive power was entrusted to three delegates, who invited Professor Voldemaras to form the first independent cabinet, mainly on a non-partisan basis. This cabinet had tremendous difficulties on its hands. On every hand they were hampered by the Germans who were reluctant to release their grasp on the country. The *Revue Baltique* for March, 1919, thus described the situation: "The Lithuanian ministries have had to install themselves in hotels and private houses, often in a very primitive way, because the military administration has reserved to itself not only all public buildings but also many of the best hotels. The creation of a militia to repress banditism and maintain public order makes only painful progress, because the occupying power refuses to supply it with arms and munitions. In the same way the German Eastern Command's consent to the formation of a Lithuanian army for the protection of the frontier has remained ineffective owing to the German refusal to supply arms. And yet the need for such an army is felt more keenly than ever, since with the German Revolution the indiscipline and disorganization of the occupying troops has spread to an alarming degree in Lithuania, pillage and



"The Saviors" *From the Painting by François Flameng*

disturbances of every kind being a daily occurrence." Under these conditions the first cabinet resigned in December, 1918, and a new one was formed with Professor Volde-maras as Foreign Minister. At this juncture the Polish Government offered the Lithuanians help against the common Bolshevik foe. But the Lithuanians refused the offer, insisting upon full recognition as an independent state. But the strong and active minority of Poles opposed this, and under their influence

They were unarmed, disorganized, weak, helpless, and almost friendless. To make some impression upon a world busy with readjusting itself, they combined with the Baltic Provinces and the Ukraine in presenting their complaints against Poland. Their base of operations was the United States: A mass meeting of Lithuanians, Esthonians, Letts, and Ukrainians was held at Carnegie Hall, New York, on May 25th, at which every mention of Poland was hissed. The invasion of



Dummy Wooden Cannon Intended to Deceive Scouting Aeroplanes of the Enemy

as well as under the pressure of the Polish imperialists ruling through Paderewski, the government at Warsaw refused to recognize the independence of Lithuania. After many parleys on the subject, the Polish Government sent troops into Lithuania to convert the zealous nationalists to what Warsaw considered the proper point of view.

APPEALING TO THE WORLD

Against this invasion by Polish troops the Lithuanians could do very little. Their country was in ruins. Their economic structure was broken; their politics were in a state of flux.

Lithuania and the Ukraine by Polish troops was denounced as an aggression, and "a violation of the war-aims declared by President Wilson and the Allied Governments," and as an indefensible interference with the rights of the people concerned to determine their own destiny. It was announced that a message would be sent to the Peace Commissioners at Paris asking them to compel Poland to withdraw her forces from Lithuania and the Ukraine, and to threaten to withdraw assistance from Poland if she refused. It was also suggested that the boundary disputes be settled by an American or inter-Allied commission. One of the resolutions passed at that

meeting asked for recognition: "In order to enable Lithuania, the Ukraine, Lettland, and Esthonia to rebuild their countries, to resist foreign invasions, including that of Bolshevism, and to take their places as independent European states, we hereby request the Government of the United States and the Govern-

ments of the Allied nations to recognize the complete independence of the Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Lettish, and Esthonian Republics, and to render them moral and material assistance." The fate of Lithuania lay in the hands of the four great Powers which were reorganizing the world.

LITTLE RUSSIA IN UPHEAVAL

The Ukrainians, Angry With Kerensky and Lenin, Ask Aid of Germany and Receive—a Dictator!

THE LITTLE RUSSIANS

IN the early Middle Ages, when the Great Russians of Muscovy were still rude and barbarous colonists wrestling with even more savage tribes of Finns in the gloom of the vast Northern forests, a real state was growing up in the rich grass-lands of the South. It had all the signs of a vigorous young civilization. To its capital, Kiev, situated on the middle reaches of the Dnieper River, came Christianity and European civilization. And from Kiev the light of this civilization went forth to illumine the somber North. During the tenth and eleventh centuries the Grand Principedom of Kiev stood in the forefront of European powers. It would certainly have loomed large in the history of the world had it not been for the terrible Asiatic invasions which swept over eastern Europe. For over a hundred years the princes of Kiev battled with the nomad hordes; but in the thirteenth century the great Mongol invasion broke the Ukrainian state to pieces. Kiev was razed to the ground. The wide steppes of southern Russia were swept bare. The western remnant of Little Russians fell under the domination of the rising kingdom of Poland. Then began the long-drawn martyrdom of the Ukrainian people. Poland tried to force Roman Catholicism upon the Greek Orthodox Ukrainians. The land was parceled out among the Polish nobility. The Ukrainian peasant was utterly crushed and beaten to earth, and his Little Russian nationalism seemed near extinction.

NATIONAL DREAMS

Despite the cruel sufferings of the Little Russians, their race consciousness persisted with extraordinary tenacity. Their national soul was forged by severe trials into an iron shield. Soon they made a strong attempt at freedom. Hardy bands of Ukrainian adventurers, called Cossacks, swarmed out over the plain country, fortifying positions against the periodic incursions of the Tartars. The most famous of these posts, situated on the Dnieper cataracts, soon developed into a formidable military republic. The glad hopes which this republic infused into every Ukrainian breast alarmed the Poles. They immediately set to work to crush the movement for freedom. A fierce war broke out. No quarter was asked or given. The Cossacks fought with tremendous courage, and under their "Hetman" Chmelnitski actually succeeded in throwing off the Polish yoke. But they saw that they could not stand alone against the bitter Polish enemy, and so they turned to their kindred in neighboring Muscovy for aid. In 1654 the Cossack Republic of the Ukraine accepted the Czar as overlord, retaining by the arrangement full self-government and religious autonomy. But the Great Russian rulers proved treacherous. They tried to subjugate the Ukraine, and that roused the Cossacks to new revolts. As a result, the Czar, finding himself unable to cope with all of the Ukraine, signed a partition treaty with Poland. Thereafter the two kingdoms vied with each other in making the lot of the Ukrainian miserable.



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A Street in Kiev, the Capital of Ukraine

A century later Poland herself was partitioned, and most of her Ukrainian territory went to Russia, while a small corner of Ukrainian land, the eastern part of Galicia, went to Austria.

THE RUSSIAN RACK

Russian domination of almost the whole of the Ukraine meant untold tortures for the Little Russians. The autocracy undertook here as elsewhere to Russify the people by ruthless persecution. The last vestiges of Ukrainian political and cultural life were trodden down. The native tongue was

hounded with relentless fury. Despite the fact that it differed greatly from Russian and was declared by the Petrograd Imperial Academy to be a separate language, all official business was carried on in Russian, which to most Ukrainians was unintelligible. All Ukrainian writings, save certain old books of devotion, were prohibited. Education was suppressed. Native literature was literally tortured out of its normal course. For composing some exquisite little verses celebrating the natural beauties of his Ukrainian homeland, and for employing the native tongue as a medium, the greatest of all Ukrainian poets,

Taras Shevchenko, was sentenced as a mere youth to ten years' penal servitude in Siberia. From this hell he returned prematurely old and broken, to die.

THE RUTHENIANS TO THE RESCUE

Relief to a Ukraine thirsting for national culture came from a strange source. In order to have a useful counterweight against the Poles in its polyglot empire, Austria permitted the Ukrainians in Galicia (locally known as "Ruthenians") full cultural autonomy. The Ruthenians seized the advantages offered, and soon Galicia became the intellectual and cultural center of the Little Russians. Books and pamphlets were poured into the Ukraine, and hundreds of young men of southern Russia used to escape every year to Lemberg and Tarnopol where thought and speech were free. The results of this center in Galicia became apparent in 1905 when the Russian Revolution gave the Ukraine freedom of thought. Its hidden cultural life burst into full bloom, rich and startling in its depths. Little Russia was re-born.

SEPARATISM

But this new freedom did not last long. In 1907 came the reaction under Stolypin, which left the Ukraine as badly off as ever. The disappointment was bitter. The cup of freedom had been dashed from the Ukrainians' parched lips. Once more they would be at the tender mercies of the bureaucracy. But an even greater bitterness came to them, which blasted all their hopes of living free under Russian domination. The Ukrainians had always hated the government of Great Russia but never the people of Great Russia. Ukrainian and Russian revolutionists had fought shoulder to shoulder for freedom. There was no feeling in the Ukraine for separation from the Empire. All that the Ukraine asked was for cultural liberty, local self-government, and an assured seat in a democratic Russian Empire. This they expected from the people of Russia. But bitter disillusionment awaited them. The revolution gave them nothing. Pan-Slavism flourished even with a constitution and a Duma, and that meant death to Ukrainian aspirations. To that betrayal the

Little Russians had but one answer—separatism.

THE INTERNATIONAL DUEL

This new movement for freedom was not the swift desperate gesture of earlier times. The whole drift of European politics was playing into the hands of Ukrainian nationalists. The Bosnian crisis of 1908 initiated the Austro-Russian duel for Balkan supremacy, which was the immediate cause of the Great War. While Russia was exciting Pan-Serb ambitions which culminated in the tragedy at Serajevo, Austria was exciting the ambitions of the Ukraine for independent national existence. Russia encouraged the Serbs to tear away all southern Austria-Hungary and erect a Yugoslav empire which should block the way of the Hapsburg monarchy to the Adriatic. Austria encouraged the Little Russians to tear away all southern Russia and erect a Ukrainian empire which should block the way of the Romanov monarchy to the Black Sea. This counter-thrust on the part of Austria alarmed Russia. It was a deadly blow at her imperial greatness. A separate Ukraine would cut into Russia's most vital ambitions, would sharply break her steady march to Constantinople and the Mediterranean. Imperial Russia raised an outcry, united and furious. In the early part of 1914, the *Kievlanin* published these words of warning:

"The Ukrainian movement is more dangerous to Russia than all the other national movements put together. It is our duty to maintain at all costs the unity of the Russian people and the Russian state. This, the citadel of our nation, is threatened solely by the Ukrainian movement, which appears as our greatest national peril."

So menacing did the Ukrainian problem become to Pan-Slavic interests that strong voices demanded the immediate solution of it in favor of Russia. But the rising national movement could never be stamped out as long as a large part of the Ukrainian race remained beyond the reach of the autocracy. Accordingly, not only did Russia threaten Austria with war if she did not cease to fan the flame of Ukrainian nationalism, but many Russians began demanding the annexation of eastern Galicia and Bukowina—the home of the



Types of Ukrainian Peasants

Ukrainia was formerly called Little Russia. The peasants are in their holiday garments.

"Ruthenians"—as an integral part of the Russian Empire. "We forgot," exclaimed the conservative *Novoye Vremya* late in 1912, "when we began to fight for an 'All-Russian Empire' that four million Russians are languishing under a foreign yoke." Early in 1914 a distinguished Russian publicist wrote: "The four million Ruthenians in Galicia and Bukovina are now often called the 'Piedmont' of the Little Russian national renaissance. A new nation is being born, the Ukrai-

nian. It would be a veritable ostrich policy to deny the danger that is thus made to threaten the unity of Russia." As the direct result of these fears and ambitions, Russia undertook a most amazing course of propaganda, aiming to tear away the allegiance of the Ruthenians from the Hapsburgs and transfer it to the Romanovs and also to convert them from the Uniat Church—a compromise between Rome and Byzantium—to the Russian Orthodox faith.

THE AGONY OF THE UKRAINE

Patriotic Ukrainians were able to combat Russian propaganda, and Galicia continued to be the hope of the race for a free national existence. But the opening phases of the Great War shattered all Ukrainian hopes. Russia hurled the Austrian forces from Lemberg and took control of almost all Galicia. Immediately she put Pan-Slavic theories into practice. In spite of the sullen apathy and open fear which the Ruthenians displayed at the advent of the Russians, despite the fact that the population hated the conquerors so that over two hundred thousand were fleeing with the Austrian armies to the west, Russia undertook to subjugate the national aspirations of the people. No secret was made of the impending Russification. To the covering and broken-hearted Ukrainians the first governor of the conquered territory, a brother of the arch-agitator for Russia, proclaimed Galicia Russian land, which was to receive the Russian language, Russian laws and Russian organization.

The steps to this end were taken swiftly and thoroughly. The two bulwarks of Ukrainian nationalism in Galicia were the Ruthenian educational system and the Uniat Church. Against both of these Russia struck quick and hard. The Ukrainian language was outlawed, the Ukrainian schools were closed, the printing of Ukrainian books and newspapers was rigorously forbidden. A corps of Pan-Slavist schoolmasters were sent in to Russify the people. Against the Church the Russian Government struck just as hard. At the head of it was appointed one of the most bigoted and fanatical Orthodox bishops. His first act was to arrest the head of the Uniat Church, Count Szepticki, who was shipped off to a Russian monastery for "instruction." There he was kept a prisoner until the great Revolution. Next the new head tried to convert the Uniat priesthood. He failed completely. This so enraged him that he had them ejected from their parishes and sent off to Russian prisons. He did succeed, however, in stirring up the peasants against the Jews. The result was a series of the most barbarous and bloody massacres.

While the Russian Church was busy with these matters, the bureaucracy arrested all

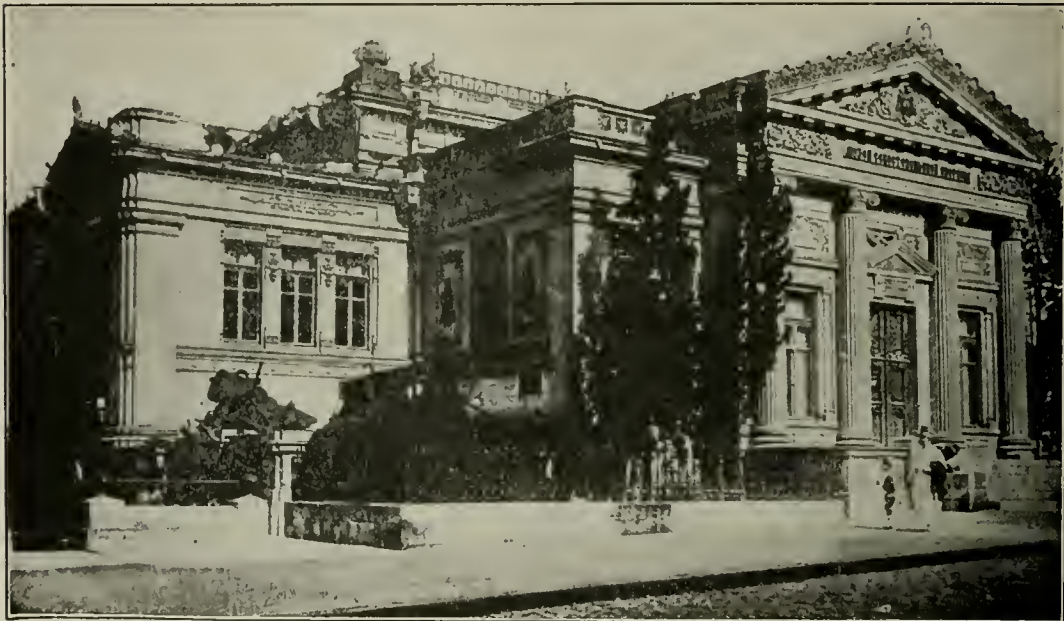
leaders of Ukrainian national feeling and deported them to Siberia and other dungeons of the old régime. So violent did these repressive measures become that even those few Ruthenian Pan-Slavists who had hailed the Russians as "liberators" quarreled fiercely with them. Such was the state of affairs in Galicia when the great Austro-German drive flung the Russian armies headlong out of the province. Everywhere the Teutonic troops were hailed as saviors. But for the Russian Ukrainians there was no deliverance. They were cowed and trampled to earth, silenced by wholesale arrests, overrun with troops, hounded into deathlike apathy.

THE UKRAINE AND THE BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION

A great light burst in Little Russia when the March Revolution swept the old régime into oblivion and put the reins of government into liberal and democratic hands. In April a deputation was sent from Kiev to Petrograd to plead for autonomy within the proposed Republic of federated states. Meantime a Central "Rada" or Council was organized which elected a president and several associates. This was followed by a meeting of Ukrainian soldiers, the purpose of which was to demand an immediate nationalization of the army. Thus, with hopes beating high, did the Ukrainians hasten to lay the foundations of a new national life. But once more they were doomed to disillusionment and betrayal. The Provisional Government refused to allow a separate national army for the Ukraine. Kerensky, then Minister of War, explained matters at Kiev: "We consider it impossible at the present moment to regroup the armies on the principle of nationality. After the war we can deal with the question of changing the form of grouping the army, but not now." Little Russia was disappointed in her aspirations. Again a delegation was sent to Petrograd asking the Provisional Government for a national army and autonomy. The Provisional Government refused. That was a question for the Constituent Assembly to decide—when it met. This was far from satisfactory to Little Russia. The Rada decided to take matters into its own hands. On June 24th it proclaimed its autonomy. "Without separat-

ing from Russia," said the manifesto, "and without breaking away from the Russian state, let the Ukrainian people on its own territory have the right to dispose of its life, and let a proper government be established in the Ukraine by the election of a Ukrainian National Assembly, a Diet, on the basis of universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage." This act caused a storm in Petrograd. The imperialistic Cadets clamored in protest. On July 14th the Provisional Government, on the advice of Kerensky, Tseretelli, and Tereschenko,

to the exact constitutional nature of their autonomy. These jurists twisted the law on all sorts of technical points in order to gain time for the Constitutional Assembly to meet. The Rada was incensed at these obstructive tactics. It decided to take matters into its own hands once more. For many generations it was the Ukraine which had kept alive the federal idea in Russia. Little Russia had fought not only for local autonomy, but also for transforming Russia from a centralist to a federal state. Now the Rada called together a Congress of



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The Museum of History in Kiev, Capital of Ukraine

came to terms with the Rada. The formal autonomy outlined in the manifesto was granted. Immediately the Cadets left the cabinet. The Bolsheviks seized the opportunity to foment the July uprisings. And out of all this turmoil a new cabinet emerged with Kerensky at the head.

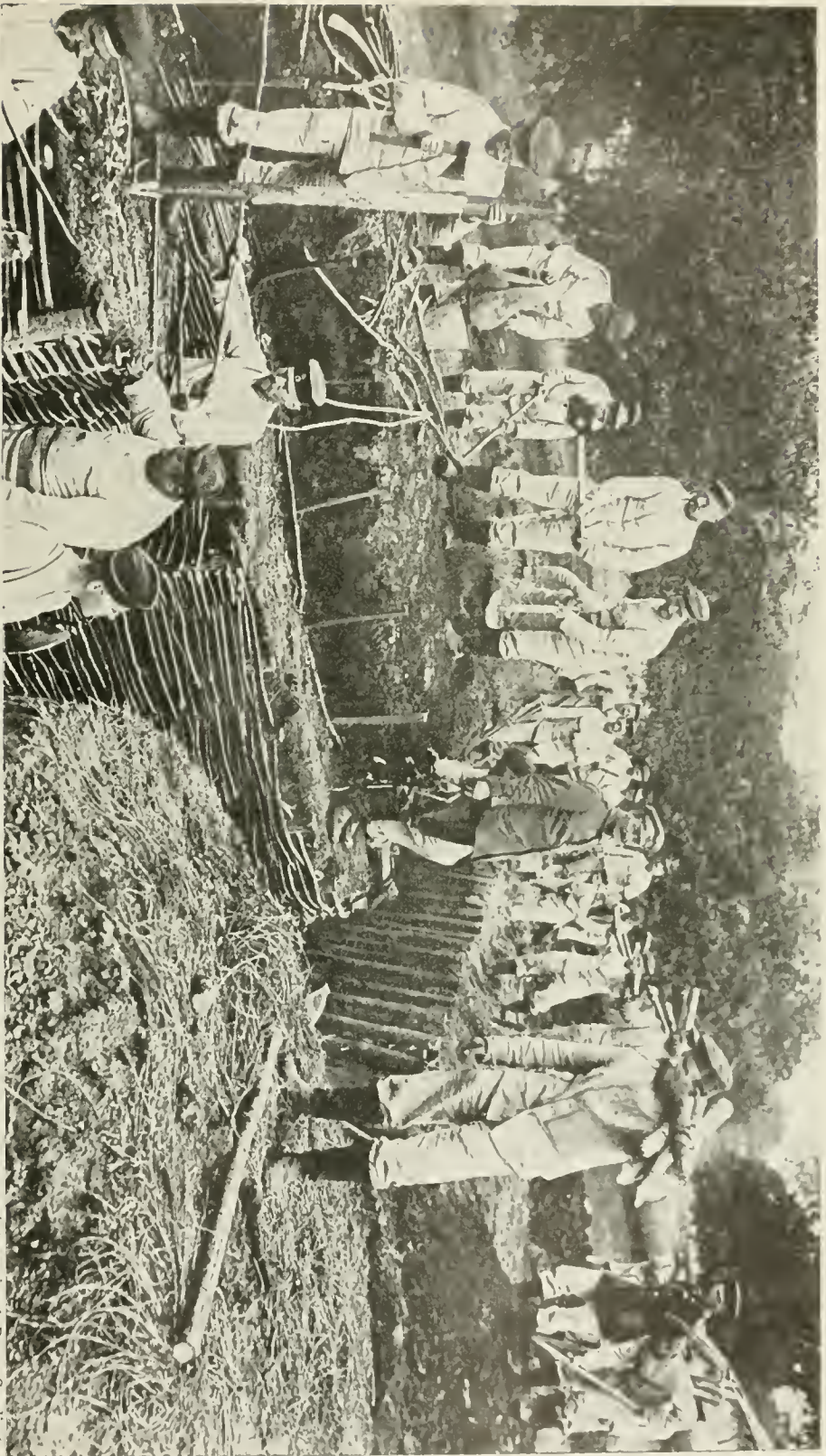
THE UKRAINE AND THE SOCIALISTS

No sooner did the new government ascend to power, than the hopes of Little Russia were again dashed to the ground. The Provisional Government appointed a delegation of jurists to confer with representatives of the Rada as

the Nationalities of the Russian Republic. It met in September, 1917, and its chairman declared that "the desire for federation has permeated the masses of the Ukraine people. The idea of federation will in Russia play the same part as in the United States in saving the country from disunion." This Congress was to be a weapon against the Provisional Government in its opposition to the claim of nationalities.

THE UKRAINE AND THE BOLSHEVIKI

Three times had the Ukraine been disappointed—by the old régime, by the liberal



International Press Syndicate.

Putting the Finishing Touches on a German Trench

Showing the elaborate system of modern field fortifications, with the zig-zag construction that prevents an enfilading fire. The Germans lined some trenches with concrete, but this one was being walled up with wicker and was to have a timber floor. These trenches were deep enough to protect a man standing erect.

revolution, and by the moderate Socialist revolution. A new era in Ukrainian history was ushered in by the volcanic eruption of Bolshevism. The General Secretariat, which was the executive body of the Ukrainian government, was a Socialist coalition. Nevertheless the Bolsheviks declared it to be bourgeois. Lenin's decree granted all the nationalities of Russia complete freedom, but he was not willing to give up his campaign for social revolution in the Ukraine. The real cause for the

refused to put down the Rada, but the Bolshevik danger was not so easily disposed of. The spirit of unrest spread through Ukraina like a whirlwind. For two days a great general strike tied up all industry. But the unrest subsided as soon as the Rada issued a proclamation transferring the land to the peasants, establishing an eight-hour day and labor control over industry, and fixing the frontiers of the Ukrainian National Republic in federation with the Russian Republic.



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Serbian Troops on the March Near the Austrian Border

split between the Bolsheviks and the Ukraine was on the question of nationalism. The Bolsheviks declared war on Ukrainian nationalism not because it threatened the interests of Russian nationalism, but because it threatened proletarian internationalism.

When the news of the Bolshevik success at Petrograd reached Kiev, the Rada formed a Provisional Committee to safeguard the Revolution. It had two enemies to suppress—the liberals who were urging the Cossacks to suppress the Rada for opposing Kerensky's government, and the Bolsheviks who were spreading their gospel by the sword. The Cossacks

THE UKRAINE AND THE GERMANS

The Central Powers had not ceased to spread their propaganda among the Little Russians. Now, while the Rada was carrying on a bloody conflict with the Bolsheviks which filled the streets of Kiev and Odessa with blood, the Germans kept on pulling the strings for a separate peace with the Ukraine. The Ukraine had to make peace, it was told. It could not survive the anarchy and onslaught of Bolshevism while fighting the Germans. With its foodstuffs and raw materials it was the only part of Russia that could appeal to

the Central Powers—it would surely be singled out for attack in the spring drive. These considerations had great weight. But the final impetus to peace was the violent onslaughts of the Bolsheviks. When the Brest-Litovsk conference met, Ukrainian delegates were there, and while Trotzky was wrangling with the Germans, the latter concluded a separate peace with Little Russia. Ukrainian imperialism was satisfied by a large slice of Polish territory, while the Germans were to

patronage General Skoropadski, a Cossack hetman, was made dictator of the Ukraine. Thus for the fifth time since the war began were the aspirations of the Ukraine dashed to the ground and trampled upon by the powers which they trusted.

THE REVOLT OF LITTLE RUSSIA

To betrayal and oppression the Ukraine had been accustomed by centuries of dark



Railroad Tracks Screened from Aeroplane Observation

A typical example of camouflage. The tracks are here being uncovered to permit the passage of an artillery train.

have access to the foodstuffs of that rich country. Immediately after the treaty, made upon the noble sentiments of no annexations and no indemnities, the Germans swung out their mailed fist to crush any signs of independence in the Ukraine. A new government was set up under German auspices and when that proved to be insufficiently docile, General von Eichorn, German Military Commander for the Ukraine, broke up the Rada and arrested three ministers. A sham uprising of peasants against the Socialist factions was fomented by the Central Powers, and under their

misery. Now that the Germans were squeezing the exhausted country for wealth, forcing the peasants to work at the point of the bayonet, snatching away from their grasp the last hope of real peace and freedom, the mass of Little Russians struggled to throw off their German tyrants. In June, 1918, over forty thousand peasants rose in armed revolt. The clouds of resentment gathered thick and fast on the political horizon, and Germany began to see that her position in the Ukraine was like sitting on the mouth of a volcano. The climax came when a patriotic Ukrainian, a

lad of 23, bombed Marshal von Eichorn and his aide. That was a signal for a general outburst against the Germans. The Social Revolutionists, disciplined for many years in the school of political terrorism, now undertook the same measures against the German tyrants which they had been accustomed to employ against the Czar's servants. One explosion at Kiev, planned by the Revolutionists, resulted in the death of 700 Germans. Peasants were burning grain and cattle to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Germans. This battle against the forces of the Kaiser continued to the very last moment of the war. It was only the armistice that effected the withdrawal of the Germans from the Ukraine.

THE WAR WITH POLAND

But the Germans were by no means the only problem which distracted Little Russia. The separate treaty which had been made with the Central Powers at the beginning of the year ceded to the Ukraine the province of Cholm, formerly part of the Polish Kingdom. This caused an uproar in Warsaw. The Austrian Poles protested so violently in the Hapsburg Parliament that it seemed as if the ministry responsible for the peace was about to fall. Polish workmen in the large towns held huge demonstrations and went on strike. As a result, the Austrian Government brought pressure to bear upon the Little Russians to give up their claim to Cholm. This did not settle the problem, however. The interests of Polish and Ukrainian nationalists seemed to be irreconcilable, and war broke out between the two peoples. Though no definite declarations were made, the Poles and Little

Russians living in such great Galician centers as Lemberg and Przemysl fought for control in fierce battles. Despite the attempts of the Allies to bring about a truce between the two peoples, the fighting continued at the time of writing. Lemberg was the scene of murderous massacres of the Jews which the Poles blamed on the Ukrainians and the Ukrainians blamed on the Poles. A more detailed account of the struggle between the two Slavic peoples will be found in the chapter on Poland.

THE WAR AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

The Ukraine, like Poland, Finland, Lithuania, and the Baltic Provinces, was used by anti-Bolshevik forces as a base of operation. Immediately after the signing of the armistice, the German troops were replaced by French troops and the war against the Reds went on. The social problem in the Ukraine is complicated. The large estates are owned by great landlords who are Poles or Great Russians. These are opposed not only to the Bolsheviks but to all revolution. It was they who supported the German protégé Skoropadski. But after the withdrawal of the Germans, the Cossack hetman fell from power, and the country was administered by two rival governments, one of Bolsheviks and one of Social Revolutionaries. The campaign against the revolution in the Ukraine was under the command of General Denikin, one of the best military men in Russia. Under the command of Rakovsky, a powerful Bolshevik army was waging what they call a Holy War against counter-revolution. And all the while Allied soldiers and sailors, with Odessa as a base, were carrying on the war against Lenin and Trotzky, helping Denikin.

THE YELLOW PERIL

It is well known that the Kaiser was the author of the phrase "Yellow Peril," this having reference to the disaster which the European nations were facing from a possible Asiatic invasion when Japan and China were reorganized on a modern military basis. This fear was prompted by the victory of Japan over Russia in 1904. At that time he commissioned his court painter, Knackfuss, to paint him an allegorical picture representing the several nations of Europe grouped upon a large rock, looking eastward into a yellow dawn out of which the myriad legions of these dangerous races were advancing. When this picture was published, Zislin, a well-known Alsatian artist, improved on this spirited German idea, and drew a sketch of the several nations of Europe and America, with France, England and Russia as their leaders, watching from the same rock a bright red dawn out of which the legions of the All-German peril were advancing. Parody is an easy form of humor, but they say the Kaiser did not see the fun of it.

SEATS OF THE MIGHTY

Defeat and Famine Compel the Proud Prussian War-Lords to Bite the Dust—and then the Revolution

A NATION IN ARMS

THE world has probably never witnessed a more tremendous outpouring of disciplined national energy than the spectacle of Imperial Germany going forth to war in August, 1914. From the very hour of its birth, forty-three years before, the German Empire, conceived in "blood and iron," had been on a war-footing in every sense of the word. Not merely was the German military machine the last word in preparedness, but German industry, German science, the German mind and soul, were similarly ready for instant mobilization at the touch of a button by the head of the Great General Staff. In fact, for ten years previous to the supreme crisis, the German people had been increasingly impressed by the sense of isolation and impending foreign perils. The public apprehensions had been sharpened by a highly alarmist literature, good examples being Colonel Frobenius' *Germany's Hour of Destiny* and General von Bernhardi's *Germany and the Next War*.

So, when the fateful July days of 1914 disclosed the grim fact that the oft-prophesied "next war" was a red reality, the German people rose in a tremendous, a terrible *Begeisterung*—a veritable intoxication of spirit. Conscious of their disciplined might and convinced of their innate superiority to all other peoples, the Germans confronted the war-specter with the fierce assurance of speedy and overwhelming victory. In every German city vast crowds surged cheering through the streets, singing the "Wacht am Rhein," while over the hostile frontiers surged waves of embattled warriors, clad in a strange gray-green uniform never seen before—a ghostlike color that melted into the background and merged the soldiery with the dust of roads and the sheen of woods and fields.

THE GERMAN PEOPLE A UNIT FOR WAR

From the very beginning of the European crisis those circles of German thought which had long considered a European conflict to be inevitable hailed the prospect of war as the best way out of an intolerable situation. Thus, some days before the formal outbreak of hostilities, the Army journal, *Militärische Rundschau*, declared: "If we do not decide for war, that war in which we shall have to engage, at the latest, two or three years from now, will be begun under far less propitious circumstances. At this moment the initiative rests with us: Russia is not ready, moral factors and right are on our side, as well as might. Since we shall have to accept the contest some day, let us provoke it at once. Our prestige, our position as a great power, our honor, are in question; and yet more, for it would seem that our very existence is concerned." To be sure, this eagerness for war was not universal at the start of the crisis. Many sections of German public opinion, especially the Social Democrats, voiced apprehension of the impending struggle and expressed hopes that peace would be maintained. Once the die was cast, however, the whole German people rallied round the government in a passion of enthusiastic loyalty. German unanimity is well shown by the following editorial in *Vorwärts*, the chief Social Democratic organ: "We were always open enemies of the monarchical form of government, and we always shall be. . . . But we have to acknowledge to-day that William II has shown himself the friend of universal peace." The only irreconcilable protesters against the war were a handful of internationally-minded Social Revolutionists headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. At the close of the war these leaders were to play a dramatic

rôle as the heads of the "Spartacides," but in 1914 their voices were absolutely lost in the patriotic tumult.

THE "RUSSIAN PERIL"

In the opening days of the war the great welder of German war-enthusiasm was the "Russian Peril." Fear and abhorrence of

Professor Münsterberg shortly after the beginning of the war, "what a German defeat must mean to the ideal civilization of the world. The culture of Germany would be trampled down by the half-cultured Tartars." And he goes on to paint this dark picture of the consequences of a Russian victory: "If Russia wins to-day and Germany is broken down, Asia must win sooner or later, and if



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A Sample of German Booty

Thousands of dynamos which the Germans took from French and Belgian factories and which were eventually recovered by the Allies.

Russia had long been wellnigh universal throughout Germany. Upon German minds the imposing bulk of their colossal neighbor weighed like a nightmare. This fear of Russia had been exaggerated by the tense relations which had existed between the two countries for some time past. Thus the German people in its own opinion entered the struggle as a crusade for the defense of Western civilization against Asiatic barbarism. The German attitude is eloquently stated by the German-American psychologist, Hugo Münsterberg. "Germans know," asserted

Asia wins, the achievements of the Western world will be wiped from the earth more sweepingly than the civilization of old Assyria. The anti-Asiatic work will appear sinful and treacherous; it will be obliterated from the globe, and the darkness of old will reign again." The fear and hatred of Russia were roused to an ever sharper pitch by the Russian invasion of East Prussia at the beginning of hostilities. The devastation and atrocities wrought by the Cossacks were on every German tongue, and Hindenburg's tremendous victory at Tannenberg, which halted

the Russian invasion by the annihilation of the invaders, was hailed with delirious rejoicings.

THE ENGLISH "TREASON"

The "Russian Peril" explains much of the quick shift of German popular hatred toward England. Regarding the European conflict at its start as essentially a Russo-German war, and considering themselves as the champions of Western civilization, the German masses really believed that they should have the natural sympathy of England. Also, despite the recent ill-will that had grown up between the two nations, many Germans still regarded the English as Teutonic kinsmen, since both had a common ethnic origin. Therefore, when England joined Russia, the Germans looked upon the move as the vilest treachery, and denounced England as guilty of both "cultural apostasy" and "race treason."

GOTT STRAFE ENGLAND!

The explosion of popular wrath against England was therefore both instantaneous and general. The well-known German publicist, Paul Rohrbach, struck the prevailing note when he wrote in his pamphlet *Der Krieg und die Deutsche Politik*: "Russia, with her population of one hundred and seventy millions, must at all hazards be reduced, and her ability to attack Central Europe be diminished. But the real enemy of Germany, and not only of Germany but of the culture and civilization of all Europe—that enemy is England. Peace with England is impossible until her power to do harm has been broken forever." "It is a fight between Germany and England to the bitter end," declared Herr Witting, head of the Deutsche Bank, to an American journalist in October, 1914. "It is a war of annihilation between two countries and nations. England has wanted it, so let it be. We want no quarter from England; we shall give none. We shall never ask England for mercy; we shall extend no mercy to her. England, and England alone, brought on this criminal war out of greed and envy, to crush Germany, and now it is death, destruction and annihilation for one or the other of the two nations. Tell your Ameri-



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A German Soldier Harvesting in Northern France

can people that, and say that these words do not come from a fanatic, but from a quiet business man who knows the feeling of his people and who knows what is at stake in this titanic struggle brought on by that criminal nation. I tell you that it is a fight to a finish. God! How we hate England and the English, that nation of hypocrites and criminals which has brought this misery upon us and upon the world. And for what? For greed, greed and envy, to crush the German nation because she found herself decadent and felt her dominance and domineering in the world endangered. For the French there is no feeling in Germany except pity and regret. We must fight them, of course, but we have no feeling against France. She was forced into it. The feeling against Russia is subsiding. But against England there is growing among high and low the most fanatical hatred and contempt that one nation ever had toward another. Tell America not to be misled by peace talk. There is not going to be any peace—not for a long time. We are prepared for three years. In the end it will develop into a struggle between England and Germany. The English are determined to destroy the Fatherland. We have accepted the challenge."

"HYMNS OF HATE"

Herr Witting did indeed accurately gauge the German national temper in the closing months of 1914. During that period Germany was swept by a perfect whirlwind of popular passion against its enemies, taking the most extreme and extravagant modes of expression. At the very beginning of the war this hate-storm was little in evidence. The astounding victories of the German armies both to east and west had intoxicated the Germans with the certainty of speedy triumph and filled them with a lofty disdain of their foes which often condescended to half-humorous, pitying contempt, voiced in many doggerel rhymes and songs of which the following is a typical example:

"The foolish French we will do up
In a manner short but sweet.
Then we'll mince them in a cup
And use them for sausage meat.

The Frenchmen are asses,
The Russians are swine,
The English are geese,
So we will soon find."

But the failure of Germany's great Western offensive at the Marne in mid-September, the unexpected showing of England's "contemptible little army," and the growing feeling that they were in for a long and terrible war quickly changed the Germans' humorous optimism into a mood of wild wrath and hatred of the opponents who had balked them of a victory at first felt to be within their grasp. The poems and songs continued, but the tone was now one of indescribably savage invective. Perhaps the only way of portraying Germany's mood at this period is to let these "hate" productions speak for themselves. Typical is a poem by Heinrich Vierordt, entitled, "Germany, Hate!" It runs:

"Oh, Germany! Hate in cold, in icy blood,
Kill millions on millions of the devilish brood.
Let the bodies heap up mountain high
And the smoke of the flesh ascend to the sky.

Oh, Germany! Hate now, let this be your test—
The bayonet thrust in the enemy's breast.
Take no one a prisoner, strike everyone dead,
And draw round the wastelands a girdle of red."

When accused by a Swiss newspaper of having lost all human feeling, Vierordt replied in an open letter as follows: "It is God who urged me, who ordered me to write this poem with words of power. There is still a God of force, a God of pride, to whom the shouts of the strong are sweeter than the moanings of old women."

The prose productions were as violent as the poems. Here is how a German officer adjured his soldiers in a military paper, the *Liller Kriegszeitung*, published in the occupied section of France. His adjuration, entitled "Fire," runs in part: "'Gott strafe England!' 'May He punish her!' This is the greeting that now passes when Germans meet. The fire of this righteous hate is all aglow! You men of Germany, from East and West, forced to shed your blood in the defense of your homeland through England's infamous hatred and envy of German progress, feed the flame that burns in your souls. We have but one war-cry—'Gott strafe England!' Hiss this to one another in the trenches, in the charge; hiss, as it were the sound of licking flames. Behold in every dead comrade a sacrifice forced from you by this accursed people. Take tenfold vengeance for each hero's death! You German people at home, feed this fire of hate! You mothers, engrave this in the heart of the babe at your breast! You thousands of teachers, to whom millions of German children look up with eyes and hearts, teach HATE! unquenchable HATE! You homes of German learning, pile up the fuel on this fire! Tell the German nation that this hate is not un-German, that it is not poison for our people. Write in letters of fire the name of our bitterest enemy. You guardians of the truth, feed this sacred Hate! You German fathers, lead your children up to the high hills of our homeland, at their feet our dear country bathed in sunshine. Your women and children shall starve: bestial, devilish conception! England wills it! Surely, all that is in you rises against such infamy! Listen to the ceaseless song of the German forest, behold the fruitful fields like rolling seas: then will your love for this wondrous land find the right words: HATE! unquenchable Hate! Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles!"

Perhaps the most extraordinary product of

this most extraordinary cycle is the poet Ernst Lissauer's "Hymn of Hate." The "Hymn" undoubtedly played an important part in the European war, for not only did it arouse tremendous enthusiasm in Germany but it also visualized to Englishmen better than anything else the mood of their foes and thus hardened their own warlike resolution. It appears in full in Volume I of this work.

THE BLOCKADE

Besides her military reverses on the West front, the close of 1914 found Germany beginning to worry about her growing economic isolation. The war had closed many of her land frontiers, and the English naval blockade was fast sealing up her sea-gates and her exits through neutral countries. Germany and her ally Austria-Hungary found themselves cut off from the outer world, thrown back upon their own resources, and menaced with that economic strangulation which was, four years later, to leave them starving and ruined.

The dangers of this impending strangulation were not ignored from the first. In fact, even before the war, the grim possibility had been discussed. In the early summer of 1914 the columns of that serious periodical the *Preussische Jahrbücher* had carried a controversy between Count von Moltke and the economist Karl Ballod as to what would happen in case Germany were involved in a war with the Entente Powers. Count von Moltke had been confident that Germany could be self-sustaining, especially as to foodstuffs, but Herr Ballod had been frankly pessimistic. He predicted that such a war would put back German's economic development two hundred years, and stated regarding the food question: "It is a terrible self-deception to make out that the German people could get along eleven months in the year by the grain which they themselves raise for bread."

EARLY CONFIDENCE

When actually confronted by the test, German opinion showed a similar divergence between optimism and pessimism. The official view of course breathed a tone of assured self-confidence. Elaborate conservation measures were at once adopted by the government, a



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In German East Africa

Negro troops under the command of a German officer.

food dictator was appointed, and Germany was put on rations not only for food but for all necessities of life. So thorough and efficient were these governmental precautions that the general feeling was at first optimistic. The harvest was just coming in, and since most Germans felt that the war could not last more than two years at most, they felt they could weather the storm. In late November, 1914, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, always well-informed on economic matters, wrote: "We breathe as freely and fully as ever. Our provision warehouses are filled, and in our coffers lie billions of good money which all of us have given and which is only a small part of what our people are prepared to give and will give if the first is spent. Our entire national life in our besieged land has become one great single organization—an organization of battle, an organization of sustenance, of credit, of peaceful work, and of providence." "We are well provided with the means of living," wrote the *Vossische Zeitung* in March, 1915, "and our financial and industrial armor is as sound as ever. We

may truly say that there is no crisis." German optimism over the food outlook was put with characteristic picturesqueness by Maximilian Harden, "Germany's Bernard Shaw," when he wrote in his organ, *Zukunft*: "All twaddle, this starvation talk. . . . Female busy-bodies with an itch for notoriety tell us

wait for their money. . . . Plenty of employment. Foodstuffs packed to the ceiling. Cakes enough to withstand a siege of children. . . . All the streets are bright. All the cafés are full at 4 p. m. Two dozen theaters open. Hundreds of movies. Concerts. Circus. Spring jackets and 'between-



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A Scene in German East Africa

The negro tribes in this region are good farmers. This big province, 384,000 square miles in area, was captured by the Allies.

what a delightful morsel can be made from the eye and tail of a herring (*Gott strafe England*). Eat your mess yourself, you advertising chatterbox. All this twaddle injures Germany. Are we in danger of famine? . . . Hundreds of thousands live to-day more lavishly than in peace times. They live even disgustingly well. In peace times the husband drank or loafed. Now he is with the colors and sends home the pay he cannot use, while the landlord and many a creditor must

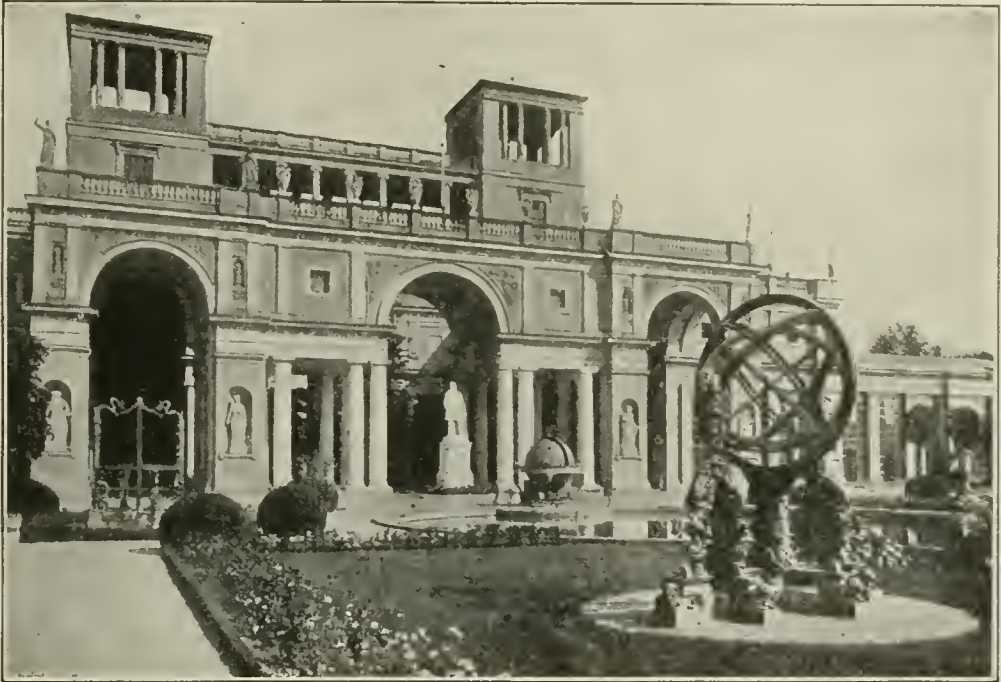
season' hats. Why, the thing is like a fair! And yet German lips prattle about famine!"

HUNGER BEGINS

However, this exuberant optimism was not of long duration. In the early spring of 1915 the government admitted publicly that its estimates of the food situation had been oversanguine and adopted much more stringent conservation measures. An elaborate book-

let was gotten out for general circulation among householders prescribing the most rigid economy and advising the use of many substitutes. These governmental admissions caused a good deal of uneasy comment. "Germany is now confronted nationally by problems hitherto solved only within the narrow limits of besieged fortresses," wrote the Berlin *Allgemeine Zeitung*. "No military successes will avail Germany unless the menace of starva-

strain of war was vouched for by nearly all impartial observers. During those spring months of 1915, Miss Doty, a well-known American writer, thus described her impressions of a trip through Germany: "The German pasture lands were empty. No people, men or women, anywhere, and no cattle." Even Berlin, despite its surface glamor, was depressing: "A passing throng filled the Friedrichstrasse, but half were soldiers. Every



Chinese Astronomical Instruments at Potsdam

These instruments, made of bronze, were set up by the Chinese in Peking hundreds of years ago. They were seized by the Germans after the relief of that city in 1900, and brought to Berlin.

tion is averted." "The last months before the new harvest are upon us," said the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in May, 1915; and an economist, Professor Harms, about the same time, wrote warningly in the *Berliner Tageblatt*: "Do not let a crumb of bread—that gift of God—be wasted. Eat only war-bread. Regard the potato as a means to assist us to victory. Blush for shame if your desire for luxuries tempts you to eat pies and pastry. Look with contempt on those who are so immoral as to eat cake and so by their greediness imperil our supply of flour." That the German people was beginning to feel the

fifth person was in mourning or wore a black band upon the sleeve. The faces in the electric light looked pale and tense. There was much talk, but no laughter. . . . All Berlin is grim and tense. People pass and repass on the street. The shops are open, life goes on. But there is no genial friendliness, no lingering over a glass of beer, no bit of gay song. Everywhere there are gray, dusty, and worn uniforms. When a troop of soldiers pass, their faces are pale, their feet drag. The goose-step has vanished. . . . Vividly it came to me that Germany is being grievously hurt."

THE SUBMARINE

Germany knew what was hurting her—the British blockade. She also knew that her battleships dared not face the British Grand Fleet. Only one hope remained of breaking the iron ring which sea-power was inexorably forging. This was the submarine. Hence the German government's declaration

knife," cried the *Kölnische Zeitung* furiously. "She shall have it." Neutral protests against U-boat attacks on passenger ships were sharply criticized. "If this trade war were, out of fear for the United States, to become a farce," said the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, "it would smash beyond repair the prestige of the German Empire." The sinking of the *Lusitania* was hailed in Germany with wild rejoicing.



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Food Centers Stormed by Berlin Mobs

The sight of appetizing delicacies in this store in the Invalidenstrasse proved too much for the tired and hungry Berliners. The place was raided, the mob carrying off quantities of food before the arrival of armed guards.

of a submarine blockade of the British Isles early in 1915 evoked general popular enthusiasm. "From Great Britain's method of starving Germany," wrote the *Kölnische Zeitung*, "we must conclude that the entire British people is our enemy, and a submarine war against British merchantmen must be begun and carried through recklessly. . . . We must try to hit the vital point of Great Britain—namely, her merchant fleet." "At last," exclaimed the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, "what we have so long hoped for is being done." "Great Britain wants war to the

The government was adjured in many quarters to make no concessions to America, and its ultimate compromise with the United States was generally regretted in Germany.

SPRING DEPRESSION

The first half of the year 1915 was a rather blue period for Germany. The growing realization of the blockade, the general war-strain, the possibilities of a rupture with America, depressed the popular spirit. Italy's entrance into the war on the Allies' side at the end



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A Busy Thoroughfare in Berlin

This picture was taken in November, 1918, just after the armistice was signed.

of May capped the climax of pessimism. But nowhere was there any sign of yielding. On the contrary, Italy's action evoked a burst of wrath coupled with grim determination. Italy, the quondam ally of Germany, was everywhere branded as a traitor and threatened with summary vengeance. "Let us not utter words of complaint," wrote the *Vossische Zeitung*, "but let us grind our teeth and use other weapons than words to the new enemy."

AUTUMN JOY

After this rather trying period, the remarkable series of victories for the German arms which extended through the entire second half of the year 1915, embracing such momentous feats as the smashing of the Russian front, the overrunning of Poland, and the crushing of Serbia, thus establishing connections with Turkey and realizing the "Berlin-Bagdad" dream, naturally aroused a wild access of enthusiasm and hope. Expectations of a victorious peace—a true "German peace"—in the near future became common. "The neutral peoples would be blind indeed," wrote the Berlin *Lokal Anzeiger*, "if they did not see over whose standards the goddess of victory is moving." "We may see the red of morning follow the blood and mist of the twilight," exclaimed Maximilian Harden. And the *Vossische Zeitung*, usually restrained in tone, remarked jauntily: "As we are the supreme people, our duty henceforth is to lead the march of humanity itself. . . . It would be a sin against our mission to spare the peoples who are inferior to us." The air was full of discussions concerning the political and economic reconstruction which was to follow German victory. Even those who pointed out that Germany was not yet within sight of a complete triumph judged that the newly-forged bloc of the Teutonic Powers, Bulgaria, and Turkey was too solid ever to be shattered by hostile arms, and accordingly postulated a sort of federated super-state extending from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf. This was the thesis of Friedrich Naumann's famous book, *Mitteleuropa*, and Central Europe became henceforth the point of departure for all German political speculation. The Pan-German's dream of greatness seemed to have become a glorious reality.

FIRST STIRRINGS OF PEACE

The very magnitude of the Teutonic triumphs awakened not only annexationist boastings in jingo circles but also the first signs of that Socialist opposition to the continuance of the war which was, three years later, to play such an important part in the collapse of Germany and the dramatic end of the war. In 1914, as the reader will remember, the German Socialists, while deploring the war, had supported the government largely out of fear of the Russian peril. This fear and hatred of Russia had been stung to more vivid consciousness by the wholesale devastation perpetrated by the Russians in East Prussia on two occasions—once in the early weeks of the war and again at the beginning of 1915. The tremendous victories of Hindenburg and Mackensen during the summer, however, made any likelihood of fresh Russian invasions of Germany extremely improbable. The Socialists, therefore, considering the Fatherland out of danger of destruction at the hands of barbarian hordes, began calling on the government to try to open negotiations with the Western opponents and to offer reasonable terms of peace. The Socialists unanimously condemned the various annexation schemes now being elaborated in jingo circles. Their party organization put out a manifesto stating: "The People desire no annexations; the People want peace." Interpellations were addressed to the Imperial Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg by the Social Democrat members of the Reichstag, and the Socialist organ, *Vorwärts*, commented: "What we demand is a definite expression by the government on the Social Democrats' peace demands and a clear answer from the government." The significant thing was that certain Liberal organs, whose patriotism was above reproach, declared approval of the Socialist interrogations. "For our part," said the *Berliner Tageblatt* in late November, "we cannot see why such a question should not be directed to the Chancellor, nor why he should not answer it. Is it believed that an answer would be regarded abroad as a sign of 'weakness'? The military position of Germany and its allies is so strong that it should not bother us what the Entente newspapers might write."



Von Hertling Reading Constitutional Reforms

The Imperial German Chancellor who, under the German constitution, was Prussian Prime Minister, is proposing constitutional reforms to the Prussian Chamber of Deputies. The passage of these reforms, including the new franchise law, was regarded as vital to the democratization of Germany.

THE GOVERNMENT REFUSES PEACE

The Chancellor, however, refused to meet these peace queries, contenting himself with vague generalities and confident promises of speedy victory. This aroused much discontent and caused the beginning of the split within the Socialist ranks which was ultimately to have such momentous consequences. In

in the budget session of the Reichstag at the end of 1915, when no less than 19 Socialist members openly voted against the war credits. For this breach of party discipline they were severely censured by their colleagues who supported the government. The recalcitrants refused to reconsider their attitude, and maintained their independent policy. Obviously, the formal schism which was soon to occur be-



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Village in German South-West Africa

Showing the peculiar huts made of poles and skins.

1914, as I have already said, the only real opponents of the war were a handful of internationally-minded revolutionaries headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. This tiny group, composed of persons who cared nothing for either their own or any other country, who denounced the very name "country," and who thought only in terms of the "class-war" and a world-dictatorship of the proletariat, was the germ of the later "Spartacides," but during the first year of the war it was numerically so insignificant that it simply did not count. At the end of 1915, however, the government's cavalier ignoring of peace desires so embittered many hitherto pro-war Socialists that they went over to the irreconcilable camp. The increased strength of the anti-war group was revealed

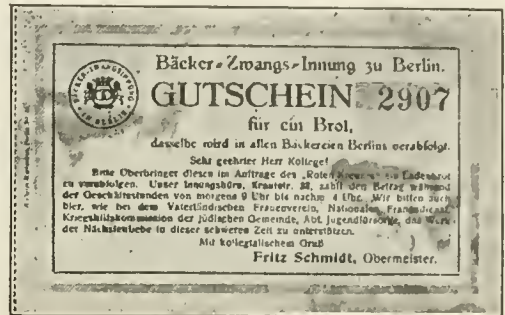
tween "Majority" and "Minority" Socialists was unavoidable.

GROWING TRIALS

The roseate hopes of decisive victory entertained by the German militarists were not realized. The year 1916 brought the disappointment of Verdun, the terrific Anglo-French attacks on the Somme, and in the autumn the entrance of Rumania into the war on the Allies' side. The terrible drain of blood and treasure never ceased. Lastly, the invisible but ubiquitous economic pressure of the English blockade went steadily on. The lean months of late winter and early spring, just before the harvest, when food reserves were lowest, was of course the

critical time. Already in the spring of 1915, as the reader will remember, the pinch had been somewhat felt. By the spring of 1916, suffering, especially in the cities, had become acute. The pinch was admitted even by conservative journals. Thus, in midwinter of 1915-16, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* wrote sadly, "While our troops are fighting like the heroes of the classical ages, want is growing acute at home, where the people are beginning to interpret the miserable existing conditions as the defeat of the Empire. We jeered at the blockade, but to-day we laugh no longer. The sinister aspect of things certainly provides no food for laughter." More explicit is this Socialist memorial to the Imperial Chancellor, presented early in 1916: "In Berlin to-day the poorer people very

into the tumbling house of the vanquished. The danger of our losing the war has become proximate, even if only that the enemy honestly believes that stress of hunger might slowly sap our strength, because in the strong

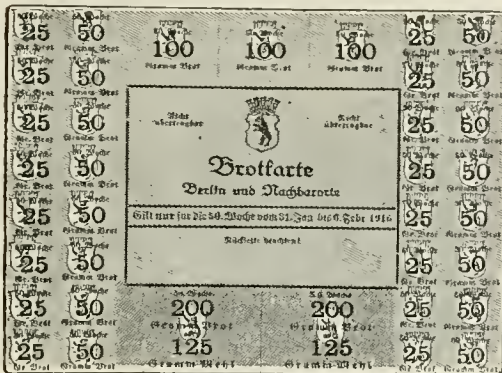


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A German Bread Coupon

Twenty thousand of these coupons were distributed weekly in Berlin during the war.

fortress of this belief he will, though his body be slashed to ribbons, keep putting off the conclusion of peace until one day the will of our young manhood, our untirable young manhood, finds its wings broken." The government was indefatigable in its oversight of the food problem and prodigal of new regulations, but, apropos of one of these, the municipalization of cooking, the Socialist *Vorwärts* remarked tartly: "Wholesale public

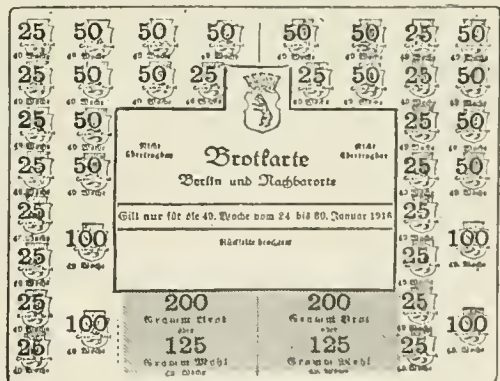


Bread Tickets, January-February, 1916

rarely see either meat or any fat food; that means they are not receiving enough albuminous nourishment to meet their needs. The complaints we receive from the families of mobilized men are fearful. Their position is rapidly becoming one of despair."

THREATS OF FAMINE

These lean months of 1916 were at their worst during May and June. In the latter month Maximilian Harden, defying the tightening censorship, wrote that "at sunrise the German people is not sure of its meal at mid-day," and went on: "We lose the war if we have not enough foodstuffs in the land to keep famine from the door, and all the whimpering about the villainy of the blockade can only serve to bring shame and mockery



A Berlin Bread Ticket

feeding can hardly work miracles when there is so little with which to feed. With weekly rations of a quarter pound of meat, one-eighth of a pound of butter, two eggs, and seven pounds of potatoes, and with leguminous

vegetables as scarce as they are, even wholesale cooking cannot produce satisfying meals. Nothing can be made from nothing."

When things were at their worst, Miss Doty, the American journalist whom I have already quoted, made another tour through Germany, and she was struck with the decline of food conditions since the previous year. Of Berlin in the summer of 1916 she wrote: "Everywhere the signs of decline are manifest. In the windows of houses, on the fronts of empty stores, are great signs: '*Zu Vermieten*' (to rent). For years merchants had been fighting for vacancies on the big thoroughfares of popular Berlin. Now they are to be had everywhere. In the stations and amusement halls stand empty chocolate slots. So long have they been empty that children are no longer beguiled into dropping in a penny in the hope of extracting something. To an observant person three things are everywhere in evidence, telling an unmistakable story: the flat stomachs, the endless signs 'To Rent,' and the empty chocolate slots. The German race is surely sliding into a decline." The latent longing for peace came out in comments like that of *Forwärts* toward the close of the year: "If we are going to drag out this war indefinitely, all Europe will be bled to death, and America and colored people will be our heirs. But we want Europe to live. We see France bleeding white, but we have never hated her. We want peace for Germany, France, England, Russia: peace for the whole blood-stained world."

DEEPENING UNREST

The terrific strain to which Germany was exposed and the interminable prolongation of the war naturally led to a rapid growth of popular unrest. I have already shown that a minority of the Socialist party had adopted a definitely anti-war position ever since the autumn of 1915. These irreconcilables were only an insignificant fragment in the Reichstag, but outside the parliamentary walls they were proportionately much more numerous. That the government feared the growth of extreme Socialist, not to say revolutionary, tendencies among the people was clear from its sharp repressive measures during 1916. Police activity, always ubiquitous in Ger-

many, was speeded up to an even higher pitch, and exceptional legislation, notably the institution of "preventive arrest," was passed by the Reichstag over the angry protests of Socialist deputies. This new legislation gave the government almost unlimited police power over individual citizens. Anybody who was so much as suspected of holding revolutionary opinions or of taking the smallest part in any extreme pacifist agitation was liable to be suddenly arrested, in order to "prevent" further "mischievous" propaganda by the unfortunate person concerned. The police established a veritable reign of terror, comparable only to that so often witnessed in Russia under reactionary Ministers of the Interior. The system, however, did evoke hot protests in the Reichstag. An extraordinary scene, significant of the future, took place within its walls in late October. A determined speech against preventive arrests made by a Socialist deputy, Dittmann, was supported by National Liberal speakers of unimpeachable loyalty. The government attempted to reply, but angry murmurs and occasional shouts arose all over the House, and eventually a critical motion made by the Liberals was accepted. After this, preventive arrests were much reduced. The episode was notable as a successful assertion by the Reichstag of its power over the Imperial Administration. Notwithstanding this check, the government dealt sharply with the more revolutionary elements. Among others, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were given stiff terms behind prison bars, whence they were not to emerge till the collapse of the Empire, two years later.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

Whether these signs of loosening national fiber had any primary influence or not, certain it is that the Imperial government showed a much less militaristic disposition than it had after the magnificent victories of the previous year. In fact, taking advantage of its increased prestige due to the successful overrunning of Rumania within a few weeks of that unfortunate country's defiance of the Teutonic Empires, Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg began his great "peace-drive" which lasted into the opening days of 1917 and which seemed at one time to promise the end



Three Generations of Hohenzollerns

Kaiser William II, the Crown Prince, and the latter's son.

of the Great War. The opening gun of this pacific campaign was a note transmitted to the Entente Powers through the good offices of the chief neutrals, including America. This note, after rehearsing the horrors of the war and the danger to all civilization from its further continuance, proposed the opening of negotiations in order to effect a personal exchange of views in an endeavor to find out the bases of a middle ground of understanding. The proposal was hailed with joy not

merely in Germany but by the neutral nations, and even by small minorities in the Entente countries. President Wilson endeavored to further the prospects of a settlement, his standpoint being an honorable "peace without victory." But the Allied governments and the majority of the Allied peoples would not hear of a compromise peace. The German proposal was summarily rejected, American and other neutral support of the project was sharply criticized, and the war went on.

STIFFENED MORALE

Whether the German government had been sincere in its peace moves or not, the upshot was very much in its favor so far as its hold on the German people was concerned. The Allies' summary refusal to parley and their criticism of neutral good offices convinced multitudes of waverers in Germany that all the government's assertions regarding Allied hypocrisy and fixed determination to annihilate the German Fatherland and the German race were literally true. The result was an explosion of rage almost as great as during the autumn of 1914. In some respects, indeed, the popular temper was still more frenzied, since this time rage was heightened by despair. Loud rose the chorus of desperate wrath. "Peace talk must now cease," asserted the *Tägliche Rundschau*, while the *Kölnische Zeitung* exclaimed hotly: "We have now learned that our enemies do not want peace, but war to the knife; so we must abandon all considerations and grasp all the means of war at our disposal." Shortly afterward it wrote: "Every man and woman in Germany must now be impressed by the fact that this war is a question of life and death. It would be vain to hope for mercy if our enemies succeed in their plans. There is nothing left for us but to fight with our backs to the wall until such victory is achieved that we can force peace on our foes. In this our only hope lies—in the grimdest warfare at the front, supported by our resistance at home and by our iron will to hold out. To him who can best hold his nerves in rein will be the victory. Successes we have in plenty. What we have left to do is to dictate peace. Deutschland über Alles!" Kaiser Wilhelm undoubtedly voiced the feelings of his people when he asserted in his proclamation of late January, 1917: "Our enemies have dropped the mask. After refusing with scorn and hypocritical words of love for peace and humanity our honest peace offer, they have now, in their reply to the United States, gone beyond that and admitted their lust for conquest, the baseness of which is further enhanced by their calumnious assertions. Their aim is the crushing of Germany, the dismemberment of the Powers allied to us, and the enslavement of the freedom of Europe and the

seas under the same yoke that Greece, with gnashing teeth, is now enduring. But what they could not achieve in thirty months of the bloodiest fighting and unscrupulous economic war they will also fail to accomplish in the future. . . . Burning indignation and holy wrath will redouble the strength of every German man and woman, whether it be devoted to fighting, to work, or to suffering. We are ready for all sacrifices." Even the Socialist press no longer pressed insistently for immediate peace. *Vorwärts* admitted dejectedly: "We are all reasonable enough to look facts in the face and to bear the inevitable with dignity. We also know that a German defeat would take not only the last scraps of butter from our bread, but would take the bread also."

THE REVIVAL OF "HATE"

One phase of this access of desperate fury was a sharp recrudescence of hysteria against England. "The majority of our people," warned the *Kölnische Zeitung*, "still have no conception of the consequences which would follow if we were defeated, and defeated by such an enemy as England. It is a dangerous mistake to regard English speeches as vain boasting. For God's sake, let us not deceive ourselves about England's determination so to force Germany to her knees that she must accept England's conditions without resistance and be wiped out forever as a competitor in the world's markets. All classes of that people are united in this resolve, from the First Sea Lord to the humblest dock-laborer at Newcastle-on-Tyne. It cannot be too firmly insisted that such a victory for England would mean an irreparable catastrophe for the German Empire. Not only would the German Empire be dissolved, but our people itself would be seriously threatened with extinction, especially in view of the Russian torrent pouring in from the East."

ONCE MORE "BLOOD AND IRON!"

This revival of warlike feeling in Germany had the most momentous consequences. Ever since the triumphs over Russia and Serbia in the autumn of 1915, there had been an increasing popular demand for peace, and the

leaders of German foreign policy, Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg and Foreign Minister von Jagow, were both relatively moderate men who opposed the Pan-German chauvinist dream of annexing everything in sight and favored a compromise settlement. The popular fury which now arose, however, forced their hands and enabled the militarists to vault into the governmental saddle. Like a maddened bull, Germany plunged savagely

of the most popular pamphlets of the day. "England is not only our most dangerous, but also our most vulnerable, enemy, because an island lives and dies with its shipping. Can we conquer England on the sea? Yes. The deeds and experiences of our Navy give a sure guarantee of this." The Chancellor's formal announcement of ruthless submarine warfare at the beginning of February, 1917, was hailed throughout Germany with a sav-



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Bethmann-Hollweg Leaving the Reichstag

The Chancellor is here seen leaving the Reichstag with members of that body. He was given the power of negotiating peace. He issued the note which neutral nations forwarded to the Allies, stating that Germany was willing to consider a possible peace. He was one of the strong men of the German government and always appeared in the Reichstag in uniform.

for "World-power or downfall." The means for this terrific gamble was—ruthless U-boat War!

RUTHLESS U-BOAT WAR

Of course this meant a repudiation of the existing compromise with the United States and the probable addition of America to the ranks of Germany's enemies. Nevertheless, popular demands to smash England and break the blockade now swelled to a tumultuous chorus. "Down with England!" cried one

age shout of joy. "Now our enemies will learn what the U-boat terror really is," exulted the *Berlin Lokal Anzeiger*; while the *Börsen Zeitung* exclaimed defiantly, "Right or wrong: Victory!" The subsequent rupture of diplomatic relations with America, culminating in formal war at the beginning of April, produced relatively little impression on German public opinion. The German government had long been dinning into the ears of its people falsehoods asserting that America could aid the Allies no more than it already

had done, that America could never raise an army, and that even if one were raised it would be drowned at sea by the U-boat cordon athwart the Atlantic Ocean. Furthermore, before America had formally declared war, the Russian Revolution had broken out, and Germany realized from the first that this meant the end of Russia as a serious military threat.

THE SPECTER OF FAMINE

However, the jingo tempest of early 1917 presently began to abate. So far as the masses of the people were concerned, it had been inspired more by despairing rage than by annexationist fanaticism. The first factor which dampened the German war-ardor was the pangs of hunger. The lean spring months before the harvest were again upon the Fatherland, and the suffering was far more acute than ever before. American diplomatic and consular officials coming out of Germany after the breaking of diplomatic relations were unanimous in painting a gloomy picture of living conditions. Said one of them, Mr. Curtis Roth: "The living standard of the German working classes is now on a par with that of the Asiatic coolie." Even German official utterances warned the people of the impending food crisis and adjured them to meet it bravely. In mid-March the Bavarian Minister of the Interior, Brettreich, announced: "We must hold out. If we lie down, England will squeeze the blood out of our fingernails. Even if the war ended tomorrow the bitter weeks are not over. Only one thing is left—to hold out."

FRESH PEACE-TALK

Somehow or other Germany did manage to hold out, and by mid-summer the worst suffering was over. But peace-talk was again rife among the masses, electrified by the Russian Revolution and stimulated by the revolutionary Russian peace slogan: "No annexations and no indemnities." The strength of this peace ferment among the German masses showed itself in the Reichstag debates. The government was of course firmly in the hands of the Junker militarists, who showed their power in mid-July by forcing the resignation of Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg and install-

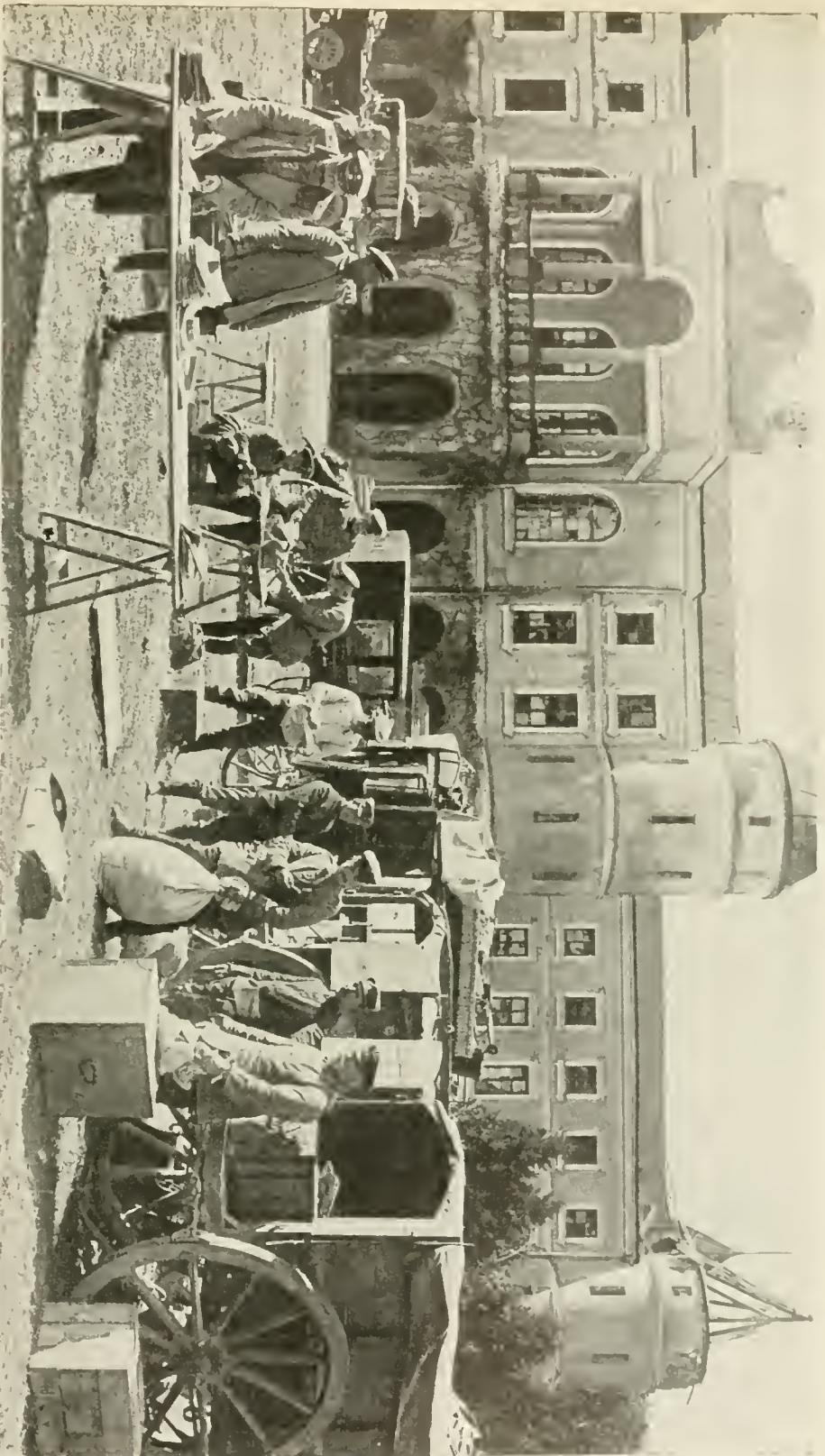
ing in his place Herr Georg Michaelis, a typical Prussian bureaucrat with a most reactionary record. But this precipitated a clash with the Reichstag, which, only five days after Michaelis' appointment, passed a resolution on war-aims which practically endorsed the Russian formula of no annexations and no indemnities. This resolution was supported not only by the Socialists but also by the Catholic Center and the Radicals. The vote was decisive: 212 against 126. This surprising occurrence should have warned the reactionary elements that the bulk of the German people, while willing to continue fighting for a compromise settlement, were against prolonging the war for Pan-German annexationist dreams.

MUTINY IN THE FLEET

The parliamentary warning did not stand alone. It was reinforced by numerous strikes during the late summer and early autumn, while toward the close of the year came a serious mutiny among the sailors of the fleet in which the Minority Socialists were clearly implicated. This first crack in the German armor was an omen of the real revolution which was to break out a year later at the same place. For the moment discipline was restored by wholesale executions of the sailor mutineers, but the government did not dare arrest the Minority Socialist deputies in the Reichstag. On their part, the Minority Socialists redoubled their anti-war propaganda. They were favored by the general course of events. The winter set in bitter cold. The deteriorating transportation system no longer permitted an adequate distribution of fuel, and intense suffering resulted among the undernourished workers of the cities. Also the food-rations, as usual, began to shrink toward a new dread minimum in the far-off spring. On Christmas Eve the police all over Germany made wholesale arrests of Minority Socialists and announced the discovery of a great revolutionary plot.

HOPES OF PEACE

The end of the year 1917 found the whole German nation anxiously watching the diplomatic negotiations which were taking place at Brest-Litovsk. The new Bolshevik gov-



Millions in War Currency for the Kaiser's Soldiers

A scene in Galicia where the army pay train made its appearance near the front in 1915. The sacks and strong boxes were filled with currency for the soldiers and officers. The German fieldpost transmitted from 60,000,000 to 70,000,000 marks monthly from soldiers to their families.

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Hugo Münsterberg

Professor of Psychology at Harvard, and an active German propagandist during the war. He died in 1916.

ernment of Russia, as soon as it had come into power in November, had redeemed its promise to the Russian people by beginning negotiations with Germany and Austria for a separate peace. This was widely hailed in Germany as a golden opportunity for ending not merely the struggle with Russia but the whole European War. If Germany should grant militarily defenseless Russia a liberal peace strictly in accordance with the slogans: "No annexations; no indemnities; self-determination of peoples," the Entente imperialists would be forced by popular pressure at home to make similar concessions to Germany and her allies, the upshot being a genuine compromise peace. Such were the arguments of the war-weary German masses.

This war-weariness was emphasized by an epidemic of strikes and peace demonstrations

which swept Germany during the Brest-Litovsk negotiations. At one time several hundred thousand workmen were out, even the munition factories being hard hit. Socialist deputies in the Reichstag warned the government that the nation would stand no imperialistic trifling. "You are playing with fire!" shouted Deputy Dittmann at the Chancellor during a heated debate, and *Vorwärts*, in a bold leading editorial entitled "Take Heed!" said: "The movement going through the masses rests on deep moral grounds; it is born of the fear that they have been misled. The masses want food and peace, and Germany freed without and within. Any attempt to hold them by force is dangerous. All thoughts of an attempt to force on the people aims which prolong the war, aims for which they never fought, or to keep from the people their promised rights, can only work as disintegrating factors. That to-day is our greatest danger."

JUNKERDOM SLAMS THE PEACE-DOOR

But Junkerdom was at the helm. And Junkerdom was drunk with the strong wine of victory. The sight of mighty Russia, prostrate in the dust, disarmed by revolution, inflamed the militarists to madness. Germany's greatest general, Ludendorff, "the brains of the Great General Staff," solemnly assured the government and the Kaiser that victory and a "German peace" were within their grasp. Russia, said Ludendorff, was finished; France and England were bled white; America was not yet "up." Three months of feverish preparation would put every valid man, gun and shell in Germany on the West front. Then, with the spring, a thunder-stroke! Paris taken, the Anglo-Saxons in the sea, and—"Germany over All!" A gamble? Possibly. But a gamble for the greatest stakes in history!

BREST-LITOVSK

Thus pleaded Ludendorff. And Ludendorff had his way. The results of that decision on German policy were instantly seen. At Brest-Litovsk General Hoffmann summarily ended the discussion and dictated a "German peace." By its terms Russia fell



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The River Front at Hamburg

Strikers in this great commercial city demanded peace early in 1918 and ceased work at the ship-building plants.

helpless under the German yoke. Rumania was also forced to sign a "peace" of equal ruthlessness at Bucharest. Peace longings everywhere were given a brutal slap in the face. As for German protests, they were dealt with in summary fashion. Strikers were served this curt government ultimatum: "Employees failing to resume work will be tried by court-martial, which is authorized to impose sentence of death, executions to take place within twenty-four hours of the

time sentence is imposed." Faced everywhere by mounted police and machine-guns, the undernourished, shivering workingmen bowed again to their tasks. A few protests were heard in the privileged precincts of the Reichstag. "Even an idiot," cried Deputy Haase, "can no longer maintain honestly that the present war is only a defensive one." But outside the Reichstag no protests were tolerated. Ludendorff, "the Iron Man," now virtually dictator, crushed refractory stir-

rings with a ruthless hand. All Germany speeded up in a supreme, spasmodic convulsion of preparation. The decisive hour was nigh.

THE GREAT GAMBLE

Ludendorff was a punctual man. Promptly on the vernal equinox, the 21st of March, he launched his famous "Spring Drive." For four long months the West front blazed as it had never blazed before. For four long months the field-gray waves surged steadily forward. The Allied position became desperate. The English were driven back almost to the Channel, the French almost to Paris. Spellbound by continuous victory, the German nation rose as in a trance, a scream of joyous triumph gathering in its throat.

Then, suddenly, the drive stopped. Winded by the grueling pace, staggering under prodigious losses, the Germans paused for breath. And then—Foch struck! The British and French were bent to their knees but not beaten, and—the Americans were up! With the fury of a tiger, the French generalissimo sprang upon his panting foe. The German lines reeled, bent, broke. They began to go back: back over the ground they had just won; back over the scenes of former triumphs; back over land never menaced during the whole war. The Germans had lost their gamble! The Germans had lost the war!

DEFEAT!

The whole world knew it! And—the Germans knew it too! The Germans knew that they were facing defeat, ruin, unconditional surrender. And they knew who was to blame! They knew who had thrown away the chances of a negotiated peace at Brest-Litovsk; who had staked Germany's last hopes on an imperialistic gamble for world-empire which had revolted the moral conscience of all mankind. It was Ludendorff, the Junkers, the Pan-Germans, the whole reactionary crew which had grasped the dictatorship by brute force and driven the whole manhood of the German race like cattle to the shambles. The one excuse was certain victory. And now this was a hideous lie!

From that fatal moment the end was certain. True, there was no sudden or absolute

collapse. The army was too well disciplined, the people too well drilled and constrained for immediate disintegration. But, as the summer passed into autumn and the relentless Allied and American battering in the West went relentlessly on, German morale began to sag and soften. Everywhere cracks began darting serpentwise across the façade of German power. The Army began slacking and deserting. The output of munition factories ran down. In mid-September the Kaiser made an impassioned speech to the Krupp workers, imploring them to keep up: "Just look at the four years of war! What immense achievements we have behind us! Half the world stood against us and our loyal allies, and now we have peace with Russia and peace with Rumania. Serbia and Montenegro are finished. Only in the West do we still fight, and is it to be thought that the good God will abandon us there at the last moment?" The workers cheered—but their output continued to decline.

ON THE EDGE OF THE ABYSS

The surrender of Bulgaria to the Allies at the end of September and the growing confusion in Austria were terrifying warnings to the Germans that they might soon stand quite alone before their enemies. Desperately the Imperial government tried to confront the double peril of military disaster without and political revolution within. The most obvious moves were the jettisoning of compromised reactionary officials and the liberalizing of political institutions. Accordingly, on October 3rd, Prince Maximilian of Baden was named Imperial Chancellor in place of Count von Hertling, who had recently replaced Michaelis. Prince Max had long been known as the "Peace Prince." He had always opposed the policy of annexations and had advocated a compromise settlement at the time of Brest-Litovsk. This change in the Chancellorship was accompanied by other official shifts, all in a liberal direction. Prince Max even began negotiations with the Majority Socialists for the formation of a coalition government of a Liberal-Socialist complexion. To President Wilson the new Chancellor also issued a note requesting peace negotiations on the basis of the President's



By J. F. Bouchor

The Outposts of Empire

"fourteen points" and requested an immediate armistice. Next day, October 5th, in a long address to the Reichstag, Prince Max announced what was virtually the establishment of responsible, parliamentary government as understood in Western Europe. The way in which the public received these momentous happenings showed the desperate eagerness of the German people. Great crowds paraded the streets of Berlin and the other cities of the Empire shouting "Peace! Peace at last!"

THE KAISER AT BAY

Neither President Wilson nor the other Allied leaders, however, were to be caught by any "peace drive," and the President's answer made it clear that before any armistice would be granted, Germany would have to agree to military conditions practically equivalent to surrender. This reply of course infuriated the militarists, and a double game began, Prince Max exchanging notes with the American government while the Kaiser went among his armies trying to stir up fresh spirit for a continuance of the fighting. All this time, of course, the Allied armies were banging and battering the German armies which were trying desperately to make good their escape from Belgium and Northern France and to reform on strong interior lines along the German border. The Kaiser's addresses were typical. In a speech to some troops in Alsace in mid-September he said: "Neither the French nor the Americans will break through our front in Alsace-Lorraine. We shall defend with the last drop of our blood these provinces which belong to us and which the Almighty has intrusted to us to administer as his stewards, and we shall keep them for the benefit of their inhabitants and the glory of God. Our faithful allies are with us in this. The last drop of blood of every Austrian and Hungarian soldier, the last drop of blood of every Bulgarian and Turkish soldier, will be shed before our enemies will wrest from us land which belongs to Germany. Our enemies cannot and will not succeed. We are under Divine protection."

Wilhelm was certainly not a true prophet, especially as regards his "faithful allies." Hardly were the words out of his mouth when the Bulgarian soldiers stopped defending even

their own country and Bulgaria surrendered to the Entente. As for Austria-Hungary, she went out of the war a fortnight later on November 3rd. The German troops and the German people now saw that whatever fighting was to be done in defense of the Fatherland must thenceforth be done strictly by themselves, and the advance of their enemies had put them in such a plight that further fighting was rapidly becoming synonymous with colossal disaster.

SURRENDER!

Accordingly, the German generals concluded to bow to the inevitable, and on Monday, November 11, 1918, at 11 o'clock a. m., French time, 6 a. m. Washington time, the World War came to an end, the German plenipotentiaries having signed the armistice six hours before. The details of the armistice settlement belong to the military rather than to the political history of the war, and to the volume dealing with military matters the reader is referred. The Allies made no concessions, and the armistice was to all intents and purposes an unconditional surrender. The sword of Germany was broken. The Imperial Eagles trailed bedraggled in the dust.

REVOLUTION!

Before even the Empire had surrendered to its foreign enemies it was collapsing beneath the assaults of its internal foes. All through the month of October Germany was seething with revolutionary unrest. The press teemed with diatribes and insults addressed not only at the reactionary leaders, but even at Wilhelm the War Lord himself. Yet these attacks went unrebuked and unpunished. The censor no longer ventured to wield his blue pencil, and the police dared make no arrests for "*lèse-majesté*."

The third week in October saw what was obviously the beginning of the end of the Imperial régime. In that week Ludendorff, the Iron Dictator, resigned, and Socialist deputies in the Reichstag openly summoned the Kaiser to abdicate. Deputy Kühle even went so far as to voice the threat that "abdication would not save the Kaiser from trial as the man who caused the war." On October 27th,

Deputy Karl Liebknecht and other extremist leaders were released from prison and at once sprang to the task of organizing the ultra-radical elements in Berlin and elsewhere for not merely a political but a Bolshevik social revolution. Even the Majority Socialists were filled with alarm, and *Vorwärts*, the Majority Socialist organ, warned against the impending deluge and urged the retention of

tempest with decree after decree further liberalizing the Imperial constitution. But it was too late. The Empire was hopelessly doomed. In all the chief cities of Germany vast crowds paraded the streets carrying red banners, "Down with the War!" "Long live the Republic!" and even—"Long live the Social Revolution!" On November 7th the actual revolution began with a general revolt



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The Brandenburger Thor, or Gate, at Berlin

The national monument in Berlin used by the Spartacans as a point of vantage to fire upon the government troops.

Hindenburg as a bulwark against chaos. The Kaiser had apparently about given up hope of retaining his crown, for he said in reference to his possible abdication: "In any case, if the moment comes when the interest of Germany demands it, I should abdicate and would do so without hesitation, but the moment does not seem to have come yet."

Around this question of the Kaiser's abdication the political storm raged during the opening days of November with increasing fury. Prince Max attempted to calm the

of the fleet. The officers made only a perfunctory resistance, the red flag was run up over the frowning dreadnoughts in place of the Imperial ensign, and the famous "Sailor Prince" Henry of Prussia escaped from Kiel over the Danish border in an automobile after being fired at by mutinous marines.

ABDICATION

On November 9th the Imperial régime threw up the sponge. On that day Chan-

cellor Max issued the following decree: "The Kaiser and King has decided to renounce the throne. The Imperial Chancellor will remain in office until the questions connected with the abdication of the Kaiser, the renouncing by the Crown Prince of the throne of the German Empire and of Prussia, and the setting up of a regency, have been settled. For the regency he intends to appoint Deputy Ebert as Imperial Chancellor, and he proposes that a bill shall be brought in for the establishment of a law providing for the immediate promulgation of general suffrage

and for a Constitutional German National Assembly, which will settle finally the future form of government of the German nation and of those peoples which might be desirous of coming within the realm."

Thus did the Empire sign its own death-certificate. The Hohenzollerns stepped down from their "divine right" throne; a Socialist deputy was summoned to the seat of Bismarck; the German people was invited to choose absolutely the ordering of its own future. How had the mighty fallen from their high estates!

GERMANY IN DEFEAT

While the Kaiser Visits Holland, Ebert Tries to Combat the Spread of Bolshevism

THE momentous decree of November 9th, quoted in the previous chapter, was, as I have there stated, the Empire's death-certificate. The Kaiser's abdication, the appointment of the Socialist Ebert to the Chancellorship, and the promise of a National Assembly to settle Germany's future form of government were so many nails in the Empire's coffin. That the German people recognized that the old régime was dead was shown by the general and spontaneous upheaval throughout Germany immediately following the publication of the decree. No part of Germany remained unaffected. In Bavaria a Socialist republic was proclaimed, with Herr Kurt Eisner at its head. Throughout the Rhine industrial regions the movement spread like wildfire, the hoisting of the red flag of revolution over the public buildings being accompanied by a stoppage of work. Thus the great port-towns of the North—Hamburg, Bremen, Altona, and others—went over to the Revolution. Although in a few places there was some faint monarchist resistance, the Revolution on the whole was accomplished with an astonishing lack of disorder.

THE REVOLUTION IN BERLIN

The ease and comparative bloodlessness with which the Revolution was effected in the

capital is well described by a German writer, the Berlin correspondent of the important Liberal paper the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. This vivid account follows:

"SATURDAY MORNING (November 9).—Berlin presents the appearance of a huge military encampment. Military patrols in field array, steel helmets on with the chin-straps down, and rifles at right shoulder, are met on every street and square. Machine guns are in position at all important traffic points, especially along the streets admitting to the vicinity of the palace. Last night the troops occupied the public buildings, factories, and hotels. It is not surprising that the soldiers look tired and sleepy. Here and there one notices them in conversation with civilians. The indifference with which they regard prospective events is striking. A shrug of the shoulders, which means almost anything, is the usual answer to an enquiry as to their attitude in case of a collision with the conflicting political elements. The general aspect of the streets is not so markedly different from usual. Traffic continues in a regular and orderly manner. The only point where curiosity-seekers are present in any numbers is near the palace. These include a number from the more aristocratic quarters, including several well-dressed ladies. The crowd is kept constantly moving by the police and military sentinels.

"The picture changes as one proceeds from



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German Assembly in Session

The German governmental body which ratified the Treaty of Peace.

the center of the city towards the suburbs. The net of soldiers and police posts becomes more open, while the groups of people engaged in lively discussion grow more numerous. The street car conductors and motormen from the suburbs bring the news that work has stopped in nearly all the big industrial establishments. Word passes from mouth to mouth that tens of thousands of workmen are marching toward the city. No one knows anything definite. Imagination has full play and the most absurd rumors get about. The crowds are in a state of tense expectation. Women lean out of opened windows. Children make a great disturbance in front of the houses under the sympathy of a general excitement. They all create the impression that a carnival procession is approaching.

"They're coming!" At the end of the dreary suburban street which seems to fade away in the gray mist of the cloudy, rainy, autumn day, slowly advances a dark, compact wall of men. At first we distinguish nothing more than a dozen red spots of color waving over the dark gray mass. With closed ranks extending the

whole width of the street, and at a moderate pace, they advance. In front are the standard-bearers, with red banners of a more or less impromptu character carried on poles. On the left and right are marshals with red bands on their arms, while the column itself is composed of thousands of workmen of every age, and of soldiers and women. The crowd in the street gives its stormy approval to the passing procession. When a soldier appears he is summoned to remove the Imperial colors. It is all done in a quiet and almost courteous way. One cavalry soldier refuses to comply. There is an excited interchange of words. A few rough youngsters try to seize his cap. But maintainers of order are already on the spot. 'No violence, Comrades!' The soldier retains his cap and cockade.

"In another street non-commissioned officers with rifles over their shoulders stand watch in front of the barracks of a regiment of the guards. A compact column of armed workmen and soldiers appears from a side street. It has arrived in the course of the night from a town where a workers' and soldiers' council has already seized the reins of authority. Immediately the men on guard are made powerless. The doors of the barracks are broken open. In the courtyard the troops are drawn up ready for instant service, standing at attention. The officers, whom the men refuse to obey, realizing the uselessness of opposition, submit to the inevitable. Some of the soldiers welcome the intruders with joyous cheers. The barracks are in the hands of the workers. The red flag flutters over the flag pole. The troops are disarmed. Rifles and ammunition are distributed to the workingmen who have not yet procured weapons. Some of the common soldiers join the procession. Anyone not willing to do so has the choice of remaining at the barracks or of packing up his things and going home. So it goes on from barrack to barrack, the same thing happening at every point. Soldiers with slung rifles take over the task of maintaining law and order in the quarters they have 'conquered.' They regulate traffic and see that there are no excesses. The processions approach from every direction and roll on toward the center of the city in rapidly increasing masses.

"Soon after one o'clock the columns arriving from the North are the first to enter the inner town. The police are disarmed. The military patrols for the most part voluntarily surrender their weapons. All the public buildings are occupied by the workers, and by two o'clock Liebknecht is delivering a revolutionary address from the balcony of the palace. A vast throng packs this whole section of the city. Speeches



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Dr. Walther Rathenau

He was called the "Wizard of the German Empire." By compelling the War Ministry and the industries to build factories he made it possible for Germany to produce what she had formerly imported, and thus to defy the Allies' blockade.

are being made at every street corner. The republic is proclaimed from balconies, from the roofs of street cars, from the pedestals of monuments. The rejoicing and cheering continues ceaselessly. The red flags multiply. Soon they appear on the royal balcony, from the offices of the commanding general, from the university, from the prison. The Revolution has conquered all along the line, and it is an unexampled victory, attained with but a single isolated case of bloodshed.

"By three o'clock in the afternoon the excellent order hitherto maintained shows signs of failing. Traffic ceases completely. The only street railway in operation is the underground. Half-grown boys, idlers of every kind, and the tougher element threaten to get control of the streets. Wherever an officer appears hundreds rush up to him and vociferously strip him of his side-arms, his insignia of rank, and his cockade. The revolutionary rejoicing threatens to degenerate under the auspices of these rough elements into a carnival of disorder; but the speedy appearance of patrols of workers and soldiers in the center of the city banishes the danger. Following the example of the Russian Revolution, the Red Guard immediately requisitions all the autos of the military authorities and arms them with machine guns. Crowded with armed soldiers and workmen they speed recklessly through the streets. Crouching on the running-boards, lying on the roofs, with their hands on the levers of the machine guns, these mobile detachments help to increase the general confusion and alarm.

"No one knows why this threatening attitude has been assumed, and a rumor speedily arises that regiments faithful to the Monarchy are advancing. Handbills are distributed. Thousands are thrown out of windows and from automobiles decked with red flags. A shower of white, red, and multicolored circulars thickens the air. The first proclamations and ordinances of the new Republican government are greeted by the crowd with stormy cheers. Other automobiles pass. A new flood of handbills is rained on the crowd. This time they contain the appeals of the Independents (for the two parties have not yet made peace with each other)—they contain bitter charges against the men of the new government whose proclamations have just been received with such applause. In spite of that, they are received with the same mad cheers even when the 'Spartacus people,' following the example of their Russian predecessors, distribute handbills calling for civil war. These, too, are wildly cheered. Does the crowd really know what it is about? Under the red flag,

three bitterly hostile movements are going on, and the crowd applauds all three impartially. Is that lack of common sense, political incompetence, or what?

"At six o'clock in the evening the streets and squares are packed with people, so that it is impossible to make one's way through the dense crowd. Then suddenly an excited movement runs through the dense mass and shouts are heard, at first unintelligible and then passing from mouth to mouth: 'There is shooting!' Fighting is going on in the Palace Square. The noise increases rapidly—one hears in the distance the rattling of lively rifle fire, followed shortly by the clatter of machine guns and the dull explosion of hand grenades. The excitement increases every minute. With interruptions the firing lasts all night. No one knows who the mysterious shooters are, and not until morning do they succeed in capturing a few officers in one of the houses the Red Guard has been storming. Constantly one hears isolated shots, and every quarter of an hour or so a volley sounds, from some point, through the dim, deserted streets.

"Sunday morning comes. Brilliant sunshine from a cloudless sky. Crowds, extending in every direction, of people clothed in their best. Workmen with red ribbons and flowers, soldiers alone and in groups,—all are passing in a continuous stream toward the center of the city. There is a holiday spirit abroad. The Unter den Linden, where last night's troubles occurred, is the goal of thousands of curious people. Broken glass, pieces of mortar, shattered street lamps, broken windows, innumerable marks of bullets on the houses, all testify to the events of the night before. Patrols of armed workmen and soldiers, among whom we note to-day many sailors, maintain order and keep the roads open for traffic. Then suddenly a shot is fired from the vicinity of the Palace, followed by another, and the machine guns begin to rattle. The public scatters in panic in every direction, hastening down the side streets.

"At noon a mass meeting occurs at the Bismarck monument in front of the Reichstag. Many thousands crowd into the broad square. As the first speaker begins he is interrupted by the fire of machine guns. A wild panic ensues. The crowd scatters. All the afternoon and evening the shooting continues. Even now it is not certain who is responsible. A great part of the trouble is due to the universal nervousness. . . .

"When the people went back to work on Monday, Berlin resumed its ordinary aspect.

Only the red posters and the numerous military patrols in the streets and the red decorated autos of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, recall the events of the last two days."

EBERT'S PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

This description of the Revolution in Berlin is a faithful replica of what occurred all over Germany. The new Chancellor, Friedrich

liquidating his affairs as Chancellor. I am on the point of forming a new government. . . . The new government will be a government of the people. It must make every effort to secure in the quickest possible time peace for the German people and to consolidate the liberty which they have won. . . . I demand every one's support in the hard task awaiting us. . . . I ask you immediately to leave the streets and to remain calm and



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During the German Revolution

Philip Scheidemann, Socialist leader, is shown proclaiming a Republic at the Statue of Bismarck in the Bismarckplatz, Nov. 8, 1918. The Reichstag building is shown in the background.

Ebert, at once took vigorous measures. Ebert associated with himself in the government two of his party colleagues—Landsberg and Philip Scheidemann. The new government was thus at the start a Moderate or Majority Socialist triumvirate. On the very day of assuming office (November 9th) Ebert outlined his policy in the following public address—the one which excited such public enthusiasm when showered as handbills among the crowds:

"Citizens: The ex-Chancellor, Prince Max of Baden, has handed over to me the task of

orderly." At the same time Field Marshal von Hindenburg placed himself and the German Army at the disposal of the new People's government.

FLIGHT OF THE KAISER

Meanwhile the Kaiser and the Crown Prince had fled the country. Both were with the Army at the time they signed their abdications. Immediately afterward the Kaiser, accompanied by his personal staff, sped in waiting automobiles to the Dutch frontier,

whence he proceeded to Count Bentinck's chateau of Amerongen. Count Bentinck had been a lifelong friend, so the Kaiser was under a hospitable roof. Curiously enough, the old castle of Amerongen had, nearly three centuries before, housed another royal exile, Charles II of England. That the Kaiser had feared the crash in his fortunes was shown by the fact that nearly three weeks before his arrival forty large cases had arrived at Castle Bentinck, containing various Hohenzollern treasures, including the Crown jewels, while shortly after the Kaiser's arrival a whole ton of coined gold came to cheer his exile.

As for the Crown Prince, he did not fare so well as his father. Reaching the Dutch border by motor car after being shot at by mutinous soldiers, he was temporarily interned at the frontier and was finally sent by the Dutch government to the little island of Wieringen, a fishing settlement in the Zuyder Zee. Occupying the humble parsonage of this lonely fishing village, the ex-heir to Hohenzollern greatness settled down to a dull and comfortless existence.

The fate of the Hohenzollerns was the fate of the other princely houses of Germany. Within a week after the advent of the Revolution the reigning monarchs had all been ousted from their thrones, many of them fleeing the country. At the first blast of the republican wind the German crowns had fallen like overripe fruits in a late autumnal storm.

THE SOCIALIST COALITION

The Revolution left the Socialist elements in Germany, for the moment at least, absolute masters of the political field. Not merely were the reactionary classes that had formerly ruled Germany broken and discredited, but the great middle-class parties, both moderates and liberals, were so stunned and confused that they dropped temporarily into the background.

The Socialists, however, were not united amongst themselves. They were, in fact, divided into three distinct groups, mutually antagonistic from the first moment of the Revolution, and destined to become more antagonistic with the passage of time. First of all there were the Majority Socialists, to whom the dying Imperial régime had be-

queathed authority in the person of Friedrich Ebert. They were the most moderate of the three. Beyond them lay the Minority Socialists, or Independents, and finally the "Spartacides" or uncompromising Bolsheviki, headed by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

At the moment of obtaining power Chancellor Ebert had set up a straight Majority Socialist government, nominating as his governmental colleagues two fellow-Moderates—Landsberg and Scheidemann. But the Revolution was not many hours old before the more radical parties began to make their presence acutely felt. In the description of the Berlin revolution already quoted the reader will remember the desperate efforts of the rival parties to rouse the people to overthrow the Ebert government and inaugurate a social as well as a political revolution. Chancellor Ebert saw the gravity of the situation. He saw that for the moment there were only three political forces which counted—his own Majority Socialist party, the social-revolutionary Independents, and the frankly Bolshevik Spartacides. He felt uncertain as to his ability to defy both his revolutionary opponents. The question naturally presented itself whether he could not ally himself with one or both of them, and thus form a coalition Socialist régime. Ebert quickly concluded that it was no use trying to do business with Spartacides, who wanted absolute power for themselves just like their Russian brethren Trotzky and Lenin. With the Independents, however, the matter was not so hopeless. The Independents, to be sure, wanted a social as well as a political revolution, but they were willing to proceed with a certain deliberation and were ready to make some concessions to the *bourgeois* classes so as to avoid an exterminating civil war. Accordingly, Ebert, by notable tact and conciliation, formed a Majority-Independent coalition government by taking in three Independent leaders—Barth, Haase and Dittmann. The governing board was thus increased to six.

THE SPARTACIDE IRRECONCILABLES

The Spartacides were thus 'frankly excluded from the government, their leaders—Liebknecht, Ledebour and Rosa Luxemburg

—being left outside the breastworks. The reader may remember how, from the very moment of their liberation from prison shortly before the Revolution, they had worked among the proletariat to start a social revolt, and how alarmed the Majority Socialists had been. The actual outbreak of the Revolution made them redouble their efforts. Those Spartacide handbills which were showered upon the heads of the tumultuous Berlin crowds advocated nothing short of extreme

and use them against those who plan to make slaves of you after having made their own settlement!"

THE FIRST TRIAL OF STRENGTH

Although marked by less bloodshed than the succeeding period, the first two months of the Revolution (November and December, 1918) was really the most critical time. During those two months Chancellor Ebert



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Spartacan and Government Troops at War in Berlin

Government troops armed with rifles and machine guns behind an improvised barricade are waiting to attack the rioting German Radicals.

Bolshevism, as may readily be seen from these excerpts quoted from them: "Comrades! Soldiers! Sailors! And you workers! Arise by regiments and arise by factories! Disarm your officers, whose sympathies and ideas are those of the ruling classes. Conquer your foremen, who are on the side of the present order. Announce the fall of your masters and demonstrate your solidarity. Do not heed the advice of the Kaiser Social Democrats. Do not let yourselves be led any longer by unworthy politicians, who play you false and deliver you into the hands of the enemy—Arise! Organize! Seize weapons

and his Majority Socialist colleagues had to face almost alone the Bolshevik Spartacides. The Independents, their nominal allies, were, as I shall presently explain, never trustworthy and became increasingly Spartacide in tendency as time went on. As for the Majority Socialists' natural allies against anarchy—the *bourgeois* Liberals and Radicals—they were still too much stunned and disorganized by the Revolution to render much effective aid. Here, then, during the closing months of 1918, was a golden moment for the Spartacides to bolshevize Germany. The Kaiser and the old ruling clique (the executive) had gone.

The legislative branch of the government (the Reichstag) was equally out of the game. The German people would not hear of the Reichstag resuming its functions, feeling that a body elected by an antiquated, gerrymandered franchise and traditionally obsequious to Kaiserism, was no fit instrument for the carrying out of the Revolution. With both the executive and the legislative branches of the Imperial régime gone, the political evolution of Germany had come to a sudden and dramatic end. There was no genuine "apostolic succession," no regular transfer of authority from the old order to the new. The decree of November 9th empowering Ebert to liquidate the affairs of Prince Max, the last Imperial Chancellor, was an irregular makeshift, very inadequate, from a constitutional standpoint, for basing an entire new political order.

SPREAD OF BOLSHEVISM

Indeed, the German people had reckoned very little with constitutional theory, and were rapidly seizing authority for themselves in their own way. "Chancellor" Ebert might proclaim himself the head of a regularly constituted Provisional government. As a matter of fact, quite independent of his volition, Germany was being covered with a mushroom growth of spontaneous local governments—"Soldiers' and Workmens' Councils," quite on the Russian model, with an overgrowth of regional "Republics," often of the most bizarre character. In Brunswick, for example, a republic was proclaimed having for its president a mender of old clothes, for vice-president a café juggler, and for minister of education a woman who could hardly read or write. The solidest of these regional governments was the Bavarian Republic, established at Munich at the very start of the Revolution by the able Independent Socialist leader Kurt Eisner. This government was to be of relatively long duration and was destined on more than one occasion seriously to menace Ebert's central government at Berlin.

GROWING DIFFICULTIES

Chancellor, or "Premier" Ebert, had undertaken as the main point in his program the political reconstruction of Germany as a dem-

ocratic republic on more or less American lines, and wished to accomplish this pressing task, together with the conclusion of peace, before entering upon complex problems of social reconstruction. This way of looking at things, however, was not shared by his Independent associates in the coalition government. To the Independents or Minority Socialists, social reconstruction seemed the thing of primary importance. The Independents wanted a genuine social revolution, and they were bitterly disappointed to see it adjourned even for the most pressing political considerations. That meant a rift in the government from the start, and this rift widened with every passing day. In fact, before long, the two government factions, instead of trying to compromise or harmonize their viewpoints, began looking for allies outside the governmental fold. The Majority Socialists, including of course Premier Ebert, grew steadily more conservative and began to lean on the avowedly *bourgeois* Liberal and Radical parties, slowly recovering from the numbing shock of the Revolution and preparing to take a hand in the political game once more. On the other hand, the Independents began looking toward the Spartacides. In late November Premier Ebert made a direct bid for *bourgeois* support by issuing the following proclamation: "We do not intend to confiscate any bank or savings-bank deposits, nor any sums in cash or banknotes or other valuable papers deposited in bank safes. Secondly, we do not intend to cancel any subscriptions to the Ninth War Loan, or in any other way to impair the legitimacy of those loans. . . . Thirdly, salaries, pensions, and other claims on the state, held by officials, employees, officers, wounded and other soldiers and their relatives, will remain absolutely valid." This was of course a direct slap at the Independents, who favored general repudiation of government liabilities and avowed bankruptcy, with confiscation of all private property holdings.

SPARTACIDES ALLIED WITH RUSSIA

Infuriated, the Independents began coquetting even more openly with the Spartacides. The Spartacides, of course, wanted a wholesale smash, the unlimited dictatorship of the

proletariat, and an exterminating class war. They even wanted a rupture of the armistice with the Entente Powers and a general occupation of Germany by the Allied armies in order to throw the German people fully into the arms of Soviet Russia. The Spartacides were in fact being financed by the Russian Bolshevik government, whose agents, Messrs. Joffe and Radek, with unlimited funds, were in Berlin, working hand-in-glove with the Spartacide leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. The Bolshevik aims were clearly revealed in M. Joffe's speech to a great Spartacide meeting held in Berlin toward the close of December. On that occasion M. Joffe said he welcomed the prospect of an Allied occupation of Germany, because it would help the tide of Bolshevism to make still further progress westward. "The Russian workingmen," he concluded, "are filled with pride at the prospect of fighting beside their German comrades on the Rhine against Anglo-Saxon capitalism." That the Majority Socialists were fully alive to this Spartacide-Bolshevik intrigue, and were resolved to prevent it at all costs, was announced in a government manifesto signed by Ebert and Scheidemann, which, after stating the government's intention to preserve domestic order and assure the establishment of a democratic republic, went on: "No less is it our task to protect our frontier against fresh Russian military despotism, which wants to force upon us by means of warlike power its anarchistic conditions, and to unchain a new world-war, of which our country would be the theater. Bolshevism means the death of peace, of freedom, and of Socialism."

THE ARMY TO THE RESCUE

December, 1918, was a highly critical month. In Berlin, Ebert and his followers had to face Cabinet dissensions with their Independent colleagues and foil revolutionary plots of the Spartacides. Throughout Germany the situation was most disquieting. Spartacide activity was everywhere visible, while the Berlin Independents were strengthened by vigorous support from two sections of Germany where the Independent party had gained actual political control. These two sections were Bavaria and the great port cities

of the North Sea coast. I have already mentioned the vitality of the Munich "Republic" and the vigor of Kurt Eisner, its president. The same Independent régime was now in power at Bremen, Hamburg, and other North German cities, while still other cities of north-



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Rosa Luxemburg

She and Karl Liebknecht were the leaders of the Spartacides. She was murdered by government sympathizers early in 1919.

ern and western Germany, such as Brunswick and Dusseldorf, had fallen under practically Spartacide rule.

In this gloomy picture the one bright spot was the Army. The Army at the front had generally retained its discipline. The retreat from Belgium and Northern France had been conducted in exemplary fashion, and the returned soldiers, now arriving home by the

hundreds of thousands, began to be a prime factor in the political situation. What the Army's attitude was likely to be was quickly shown. The returning veterans evinced little liking for either Independent or Spartacide propaganda. The Army's attitude was typified by the demonstration of the Prussian Guard regiments, which entered Berlin carrying enormous banners bearing the significant legend: "We will stand no nonsense from either Junkers or Spartacides."

Alongside many of the infantrymen marched their wives or sweethearts. . . . Neither on the houses nor among the incoming soldiers were any red flags to be seen, but from the Russian Embassy the symbol of the Revolution was flown. Some of the bands played 'Deutschland über Alles,' others played soldiers' melodies, but not a single revolutionary tune was heard. . . . Flowers and cigarettes were thrown passing troops, who were also met by motor cars laden with brilliant chrys-



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Transporting Potatoes Through the Streets of Berlin

When the German government took full control of Germany's food supply there was remarkable economy shown in all kinds of provisions.

RETURN OF THE "VICTORIOUS" ARMY

This entry of the Guards into Berlin was a notable event. The day, December 10th, was one of wild rejoicing, the Berliners greeting their crack corps as though they were bearers of a glorious victory. Here is a description of the scene from the pen of a Dutch journalist: "In wave after wave the soldiers struggled forward amid flags, greenery, and flowers. In front of the procession marched a row of soldiers holding high banners in the colors of the new republic—black, red, and gold. Then came detachments representing regiments of all the federal states, with their own colors in their rifle barrels. First came the Bavarians with their blue and gold; fine fellows, well equipped, and many on horseback. Others were seated on caissons, which were also covered with flowers and greenery.

anthemums. Berlin was once more a military town, full of enthusiasm for the soldiers and their deeds. There was nothing in the entry to call to mind the national defeat. In spite of the lack of sunshine the picture was full of color by reason of the lavish display of flags and flowers. All the afternoon the troops were marching through, coming from the west, and tens of thousands of people did not tire of watching them."

STRUGGLE FOR A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

Cheered by the loyalty of the Army and heartened by increasing support from his middle-class allies, Premier Ebert determined to hasten the calling of that general assembly which should lay the constitutional foundations of the new Germany. Ebert and his colleagues realized that the present Executive

Directory of Six was not the proper body for convoking the Assembly. It was a mere product of the November revolution, indispensable for the moment, but provisional in its essence and without a legal mandate from the German people. There was, of course, the old Reichstag, but, as I have already remarked, the Reichstag was too discredited in popular estimation. Ebert therefore had recourse to the Soldiers' and Workingmen's Councils. These were, of course, as much revolutionary phenomena as the Executive Committee itself, but they existed all over Germany, and were, therefore, the best means for voicing the wishes of the German people. Accordingly, the government convened a "Central Council of Delegates" from the local Councils, which met on December 16th, at Berlin.

TRIUMPH OF MAJORITY SOCIALISTS

The great question for decision was, of course, the calling of the National Assembly. On this point the government staked its existence. The Independents and Spartacides were absolutely opposed to any National Assembly, realizing that it would be elected by universal suffrage, thus including the votes of the *bourgeois* classes, and that as soon as it met, it would automatically supplant the various extra-legal, revolutionary bodies which now controlled Germany: Executive Committee and Soldiers' and Workingmen's Councils alike. From the very start, desperate efforts were made to terrorize the Central Council by obstructionist speeches of Independent delegates, by "boo-ing" from the public galleries, and by monster street demonstrations engineered by Karl Liebknecht and other prominent Spartacides. Nevertheless, when the Independents' program was laid before the House—no National Assembly; all power to be vested in the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils; disbandment of the army; formation of a proletarian Red Guard; propaganda for the establishment of a socialist world-republic—the House voted it down almost five to one. This overwhelming vote of confidence surprised even the government, which quickly put through its program. On December 19th the Congress by the crushing majority of 376 to 70 voted that the elec-

tions for the National Assembly should be held a month from date. The boldest stroke of the government met with equal success. This was a proposal made by the Majority Socialist leader, Philip Scheidemann, that the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils dissolve themselves. Scheidemann warned the delegates that if the Councils continued to exist they were bound to drift into Bolshevism and bring on the ruin of Germany. The Congress applauded and voted the dissolution five to one. The Congress completed its labors by a new Central Executive Committee of 27 members—all Majority Socialists. The triumph of the Majority Socialists was thus complete, the Independents were entirely excluded from the government, and the breach between the two elements was absolute. The Congress adjourned on December 20th.

ON THE BRINK OF CHAOS

The government had won a sweeping victory in the Congress Hall. It had still to make good that victory in the streets. A fortnight later the great Spartacide rising of early January, 1919, was to set Berlin aflame. The attitude of both Independents and Spartacides made it certain that they would fight. In close alliance, they were determined to nullify the Congress' decision and to overthrow the government by a second revolution like the second, or Bolshevik, Russian revolution of November, 1917. The Congress Hall itself had echoed to their uproarious threats. When the decisive votes had been announced, the public galleries had yelled, "Shame! Shame! Cowards, we shall teach you a lesson yet! You are robbing the people of the fruits of the revolution!" And when the chairman had threatened to clear the galleries, the disturbers had retorted: "Here you have the power, you cowards, but wait until we get you in the streets!" In effect, from the adjournment of the Congress till the beginning of the new year, Berlin was seething with ill-suppressed revolutionary unrest. A partial rising of revolutionary sailors, the advance notice of the January insurrection, took place on December 23d, and was suppressed by the government troops only after considerable bloodshed.

Berlin's first revolutionary Christmas, un-

der the twin shadows of defeat and anarchy, was a gloomy one. Never before, even during the war, had beggars and street vendors been seen in such numbers. Professional beggars and crippled and invalid soldiers multiplied daily; other soldiers sold cigarettes, soap, and sweetmeats brought in from west of the Rhine, where such things were relatively more plentiful than in Berlin. An odd holiday spectacle was an able-bodied soldier in uniform grinding out Christmas music from a street organ. The main thoroughfares presented an incongruous appearance, with booths filled with flimsy wares and substitutes for Christmas pastry and wax candles. The press expressed frank alarm at the outlook. For example, the *Tägliche Rundschau* remarked gloomily: "Germany to-day presents a distressing spectacle to the world. Criminals are being set free on all sides, and not a day passes without some disgraceful depredation. As though this were not enough, we have also to reckon with the arbitrary actions of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils, who

are squandering the public funds in a frightful manner. Is Germany about to be swallowed up in an abyss of self-annihilation?"

CONSERVATIVE PROTESTS

The way in which the government tolerated lurking anarchy without attempting drastic suppression roused bitter protests from conservative circles, now recovering from their stupor and beginning to find voice once more. Thus, the staunch Junker, Count Ernst zu Reventlow, bemoaned the past and excoriated the present in the following vein: "It is time Germany realized the shameless treatment we are receiving from our enemies because of our present rulers. Under the old system, Germany would never have been compelled to submit to treatment of this kind. . . . It would be difficult, however, to mention any institution or organization in Germany for which our enemies could be expected to cherish any respect. What they see fills them with neither respect nor confidence, and can only strength-



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German Soldiers Being Searched for Concealed War Material

Thousands of prisoners were taken by the Allies in 1918. Here are a few of the captured Fritzes.

en their idea that Germany does not constitute a nation at all, but is simply a horde of lackeys and snobs who become more pliable the worse they are treated. The old system, however badly it was administered, would not have accepted armistice terms that plunged Germany into an abyss. The stupid German simply stands and looks on without troubling himself about the German Empire of the future. He looks on with gaping jaws

ernment has done nothing to sustain the justifiable self-respect of the German people, who so long defended their existence against the whole world, but has done everything possible to suppress the elements standing for law and order."

ECONOMIC AGONY

The worst of the matter was that political dissensions were aggravated by industrial par-



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One of Louis Raemaekers' Famous Cartoons

"The burdens weighing on the fallen Kaiser's conscience" is the title of this remarkable drawing by the great Dutch cartoonist.

and without comprehending anything, while Jews of various categories are fighting each other for sovereignty over Germans. Is it conceivable that the old system, with its glorious old chieftain, could possibly have brought us as low as this?" Similar in tone was the notable appeal addressed to Premier Ebert by Professor Theodor Schiemann, a leading conservative. The professor besought Ebert to "rescue some sort of law and order from the existing chaos," and continued: "I am ashamed of the undignified appearance which our country presents. . . . Our present gov-

alysis and downright starvation. The armistice in November had found Germany in desperate straits for food and primary raw materials. The revolutionary disintegration had, of course, scrapped the careful regulation and rationing of the Imperial régime, and the Allies' continued blockade permitted practically nothing to come in to ameliorate the dreadful situation. With bankruptcy and Bolshevik confiscation threatening, the people no longer had any incentive to save, and therefore began indulging in a wild orgy of expenditure, resolved to enjoy their money while

they had it. The food situation grew steadily worse, especially as regards milk, butter, and other fats, and the infant mortality rose to appalling proportions. Foreign correspondents reported that the inhabitants of Berlin seemed resolved to forget the future and to live in the present moment alone. Thus, cafés, dance-halls and night-life glowed with hectic gaiety, while the food regulations were jeeringly despised. An English journalist wrote: "The shortage of food becomes steadily

pursuit of money, which must destroy everything that is necessary for the reconstruction of our national life. Do people not remember that we have been completely pumped out by the war, and that Germany is sighing under the burden of the most oppressive poverty? . . . It is criminal to incite the workman to demand more than the poverty of our whole economic system can give to all alike. The exaggerated wages secured by certain groups of workers must strike at the vital nerve of



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Turkey's German Dictator

General Liman von Sanders, who was the German chief of the Turkish Army during the war, is the central figure of the group.

greater and more threatening. Although the working-class population has received very high wages during the war, it has saved nothing. Everything earned goes for food." But the industrial machine was rapidly going to pieces under the insane wage demands of the workers. The more moderate Socialists themselves were shocked, *Vorwärts* stating: "The wage demands that are being made are crazy, and nobody is thinking what is to happen tomorrow and what is to be the lot of the people as a whole. Among a large section of the working classes there has broken out a blind

the rest of the workers, in view of the grave crisis that is inevitable."

That the government was not insensible to the economic crisis was proved by this warning proclamation addressed to the German working classes:

"The gains of the Socialist revolution are threatened! The approaching catastrophe becomes daily more clearly defined. The war has made us poor, defeat has made us even poorer. Our land is neglected and exhausted, our cattle are all slaughtered, our means of communication are ruined. Machinery for the production of

peace is worn out. Essential raw materials cannot be obtained. Oppressive armistice terms restrict our liberty of movement. Monstrous burdens are laid upon us by the victorious enemy. Workmen! With you, and with you alone, does it lie to avert this disaster. You must reestablish our shattered economy. You must see to it that famine and civil war, as well as the consequence of civil war—the destruction of all that has been gained by the Revolution—are not brought upon us. You must work. Socialism demands work—can only exist with work for its foundation. He who is idle because he must be, gets a maintenance; but he who is idle when he might, and should, work, makes himself and others so much the poorer, and sins against his nation and its socialistic future; preparing the way for total collapse, which will finally overwhelm him also.—Workmen! Protect your Revolution from attacks of any kind! Save it from ruin by famine and economic distress.”

The government was also obviously gathering itself together for a trial of armed strength with the Spartacides. On December 30th, Premier Ebert granted an interview with an American journalist in which he stated categorically that henceforth any crime against the public peace would be punished relentlessly, and that all armed opposition to the Provisional government would be ruthlessly crushed.

THE SPARTACIDE INSURRECTION

The great Spartacide rising began on January 5, 1919. The event which precipitated the fighting was the government's deposition of Herr Eichhorn as chief of the Berlin police. Eichhorn's nomination to that post had been due to the insistence of the Independent members of the Coalition government in the early weeks of the revolution, but he had consistently misused his office for revolutionary purposes, turning police headquarters into a Spartacide stronghold and openly arming thousands of criminals and desperadoes for the anticipated Spartacide stroke. Accordingly, the government's announcement was accepted by the Spartacides as a challenge to battle, and Eichhorn, defying the government's orders, marshaled his forces for the fray.

Next day, January 6th, the Spartacide forces, debouching from their stronghold, police headquarters, at the Alexanderplatz,

made a determined effort to capture the government. The government resisted with equal vigor, and by evening furious fighting was raging in the heart of the city. Armored cars, machine guns, and artillery gave the fighting the aspect of a regular pitched battle. Hundreds of dead and dying strewn the streets. The din of battle and the roar of the enraged multitudes were described by onlookers as “absolutely terrifying.”

January 7th was another day of sanguinary, indecisive fighting, but the Spartacides were making no headway and evidently were becoming doubtful of their ability to overthrow the government. The government troops, mostly veterans from the Western front, showed absolute loyalty, disdaining all Spartacide efforts to win them over, and their disciplined valor was outlasting the wild courage of the fanatical Spartacides. Accordingly, on the evening of the 7th, the Spartacide leaders sent a flag of truce proposing a conference. But the government, confident in its growing strength, refused all negotiation until the Spartacides should have evacuated their positions. This answer, tantamount to a demand for surrender, showed the Spartacides that it was a fight to a finish.

Next day (January 8th) the government passed to the offensive. Premier Ebert voiced the government's stern determination when he said on that day: “The government is determined to maintain security, freedom, and right, and will stand or fall by the National Assembly, which is the way to freedom and a happy future for Germany”; and Philip Scheidemann, the other chief government leader, added: “You know what the stake is. If these machinations are continued, our women and children will be abandoned to worse famine than during the four terrible years of war.” Accordingly, that day witnessed a general advance of the government forces. In converging columns, the steel-helmeted government troops advanced to the assault, losing heavily from Spartacide machine gun fire from stone buildings converted into fortresses, but pressing gamely on. By nightfall one of the chief Spartacide strongholds, the Brandenburger Gate, had fallen.

The government was spurred on to decisive action by ominous news coming from the provinces. All over Germany the Spar-



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A Bird's-Eye View of Freiburg

This German city in Baden was frequently bombarded by Allied airmen during the war.

tacides were attempting concerted diversions, and the whole country was seething with incipient civil war. Sympathetic strikes and violent proletarian demonstrations were occurring in most of the cities, while in Munich the Independent government of Kurt Eisner was threatening open war on the Berlin government unless order were speedily restored.

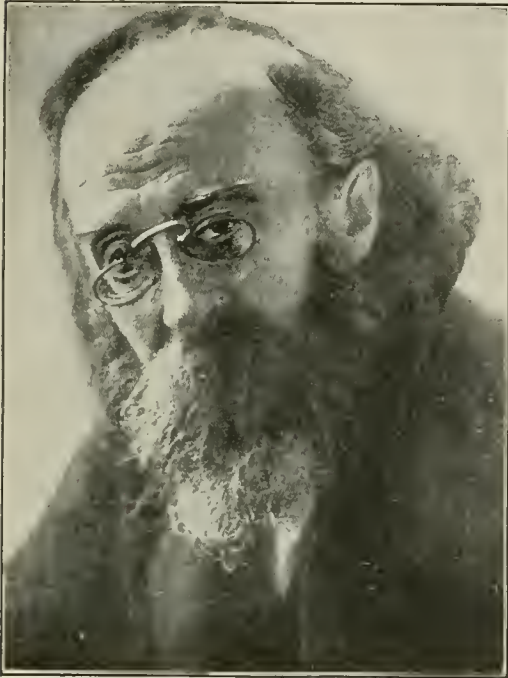
THE REVOLT BROKEN

By the evening of January 8th, however, ultimate victory for the government was practically assured. During the night large reënforcements of regular troops reached Berlin, while the law-abiding civilian elements were rendering increasingly vigorous assistance. True, the Spartacides were still numerous and determined, and the next three days saw furious fighting. Stronghold after stronghold had

to be captured by regular sieges, and even after having been battered by artillery the interiors were desperately defended by the tigerish Spartacides, retreating from room to room and overcome only after hand-to-hand fighting with bayonet and hand grenade. Meanwhile, open fighting had broken out in several other German cities, though there, as in Berlin, the government forces were slowly getting the upper hand.

On January 11, Kurt Eisner, seeing his Spartacide friends being rapidly worsted, made a last effort at compromise by sending the Berlin government the following appeal for peace: "With growing horror we follow the murderous civil war. It must end, unless all Germany is slowly to perish. Berlin's example is having a demoralizing effect everywhere, and is producing an epidemic of insanity. The only means of salvation appears

to be a government sustained by the confidence of the people, comprising all Socialist parties, and resolved to bring democracy and socialism to victory. Everywhere in South Germany the anger against Berlin is growing. At the same time sinister persons here are calling also for fratricidal warfare." But the Ebert government was not to be gulled into any weakness toward Spartacism, fully recognizing its irreconcilability. Therefore, ig-



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Kurt Eisner

The Bavarian Premier, and leader of the Radicals, who was assassinated February 21st, 1919.

noring Eisner's appeal, it plunged grimly on to victory.

And by the night of January 14, this victory was practically complete. The last Spartacide strongholds in the suburban working quarters had been stormed, thousands of prisoners, including many of the Spartacide leaders, had been taken, and all resistance had ended save for sporadic sniping by isolated individuals and scattered groups. Great credit for the suppression of the insurrection was due to Herr Noske, the government's military leader, who became henceforth the guard-

ian of law and order and the terror of the anarchistic elements. The losses in both life and property had been very severe. In fact, Berlin had suffered more in this ten days' civil struggle than London in four years of air raids. General Noske immediately inaugurated measures to render a recurrence of the disaster impossible. A government order was published calling on every citizen to give up all arms within twenty-four hours, on pain of a heavy fine and five years' imprisonment, and a thorough house-to-house search made this order a reality.

THE END OF LIEBKNECHT AND ROSA LUXEMBURG

The two arch-fanatics of Spartacism went into hiding when their cause collapsed on the 14th, but next day their refuges were discovered and they were both arrested. Hurried by government officers to a hotel nearby, the news spread like wildfire, and the hostelry was soon surrounded by a furious crowd shrieking for their blood. "Hand over the brute! Kill the swine!" These and similar cries penetrated to the room where Liebknecht sat awaiting his fate. The Spartacide leader was deathly pale, but managed to smile derisively at the shouts, remarking sarcastically to his guards: "They would kill Jesus Christ Himself!" Fearing a lynching, the government official in charge attempted to spirit Liebknecht away through a side door into a waiting automobile, but some of the mob had suspected this ruse, and Liebknecht was badly beaten before the car forced its way through the screaming mass, the mob clinging desperately to the sides. On the way to prison the car broke down and Liebknecht was asked to walk on till another car could be found. While passing through a garden he attempted to escape, whereupon he was shot dead by his guards.

Meanwhile Rosa Luxemburg was also meeting her end. Furious at Liebknecht's departure, the mob rushed the hotel. The guards tried to defend their prisoner and Rosa fought like a tigress against the clutching hands of the lynchers, but she was beaten into unconsciousness before reinforcements of guards enabled the officers to get her into a waiting machine. The mob had now swelled

to unmanageable proportions, and the car forged slowly through jeering, hooting masses. About three blocks from the hotel a man suddenly sprang on the running-board and shot the unconscious woman through the head. Then, with equal suddenness, there was a tremendous rush, the guards about the car were swept off their feet, and Rosa's body was carried away into the darkness. For some time there were rumors that she still

where made a strong showing, electing no less than thirty-four of their sex to the Assembly. In the second place, the election plan was based upon the principle of proportional representation, so that each party elected representatives in proportion to the vote cast. For the most part the elections were conducted in an orderly manner, though Spartacide disorders occurred in several cities. The government, however, was fully prepared for



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The Revolution in Berlin

A Spartacan demonstration in front of the Imperial stables in February, 1919.

lived, but ultimately her dead body was found in a canal. So perished the high priests of Spartacism.

THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

The Spartacide peril having thus been exorcised, the way was now clear for the elections to the National Assembly, which took place according to schedule on January 19th. The election procedure was very different from that under the Empire. To begin with, all adults, women as well as men, were entitled to vote, and the women electors every-

trouble. In Berlin, for example, the voters exercised the franchise under the protection of a machine gun squad at each polling booth, and after the close of the voting troops occupied the polling places to protect the count. Sporadic Spartacide attempts to destroy ballot boxes were summarily squelched.

The results of the elections were most cheering. The extremists, both Spartacides and Junkers, were simply snowed under. The Spartacides and Independents together polled only about 5 per cent. of the total vote, while the monarchist reactionaries polled less than 10 per cent. This showed both the absurdity

of Spartacide and Independent claims to represent the German people and of Junker claims that the return of the Kaiser régime was secretly desired. The surprising thing was the strong showing made by the middle-class parties, liberal, radical, and Catholic. Together, these groups polled 45 per cent. of the total vote, about equally divided between the three. The government party—the Majority Socialists—did not fare so well as they expected, polling less than 45 per cent. Thus the government group, while the most numerous element in the Assembly, did not have a clear majority. That meant that it would have to form a working alliance with one or more of the middle-class parties.

WEIMAR

The government had decided that the forthcoming National Assembly should meet on February 6th at Weimar, a small city of west-central Germany and capital of the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach. It was a famous town, having been the home of Goethe and Schiller. The choice of Weimar as a meeting place was undoubtedly wise. A small town set in a rural area and some distance from any large city, it would be more easily guarded and protected from sudden invasion by Spartacide city mobs. The government had evidently taken a leaf out of the book of history, for the terrorizing of assemblies by mob violence has often occurred in the past. Many historians have contended that if the States-General of 1789 had been convened at some provincial town instead of at Versailles within reach of the Paris mob, the whole course of the French Revolution would have been altered and the Jacobin Reign of Terror might never have taken place. The choice of Weimar, in central Germany, also placated the jealousy of the South Germans against Prussia. There was some discontent in Berlin at thus ceasing, even temporarily, to be the seat of government, but most sensible Berliners recognized the justice of the government's contentions.

The transformation of Weimar from a literary shrine and unimportant provincial town into the seat of the German National Assembly naturally required careful planning and quick transforming activity. The Na-



Field Marshal Von Hindenburg

Idol of the Germans during the war. After Germany's defeat he stuck by his people when the other leaders fled.

tional Theater was remodeled for the Assembly Hall. In the early days of February the delegates began flocking in and were gratified to find that the government had made excellent preparations. Arrangements had been so perfected that living and eating quarters were promptly assigned to each accredited visitor. True to German war methods, a card system was introduced, which began with a pink card admitting the bearer to Weimar and to a seat in the National Theater. A gray card was issued for lodgings (price plainly stamped), and a yellow card indicated the eating place. Booklets of pink, blue, and green slips represented breakfasts, luncheons, and suppers, together with gray, red, brown, yellow, maroon, and blue slips for edible supplies. The town was strongly garrisoned and efficiently patrolled day and night as a warning to Spartacides.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The Assembly was convened on the appointed day, February 6th, at three o'clock in

the afternoon. The beautiful Weimar Court Theater, the place of meeting, was brilliantly lighted and had been transformed into a creditable replica of a legislative hall. The orchestra chairs had been shifted to writing desks, while the entire first and second balconies, holding the press representatives, had been altered so that each journalist had a small bit of table. The stage had been transformed into a tribune, on which the presiding officer sat in an enormous, high-backed chair emblazoned with the German symbolic eagle. It was the old Reichstag Presidential chair. The theater, especially the tribune, was fairly buried in masses of red, pink, and white carnations. The rear of the balconies behind the press tables were thronged with privileged visitors. The delegates presented the appearance of a democratic, middle-class crowd, well though plainly dressed. Three-fourths of them were entirely new to political life. The women delegates of all ages scattered through the house were objects of especial curiosity.

EBERT AND THE "FOURTEEN POINTS"

The proceedings were opened by Premier Ebert, whose speech struck the keynote of the Provisional government's policy both at home and in relation to the Versailles Peace Conference, which had convened about a fortnight before. He began with the declaration: "We have done forever with Princes and nobles 'by the Grace of God.'" The German people, he continued, were now ruling themselves. The revolution would decline responsibility for shortage of food and defects in food management in Germany. Bitter need had delivered Germany to her enemies, but he protested against German slavery to the enemy for generations. "Our enemies declare they are fighting against militarism," he went on, "but militarism has been dethroned." The Premier next took up the armistice terms, which he stigmatized as unheard-of and ruthless. He adverted with especial bitterness to the 800,000 German prisoners still held captive by the Allies, and the Assembly broke into wrathful exclamations at mention of this sore point for German susceptibilities. After deploring France's expulsion of Germans from Alsace-Lorraine, Ebert said feelingly, "We warn our opponents

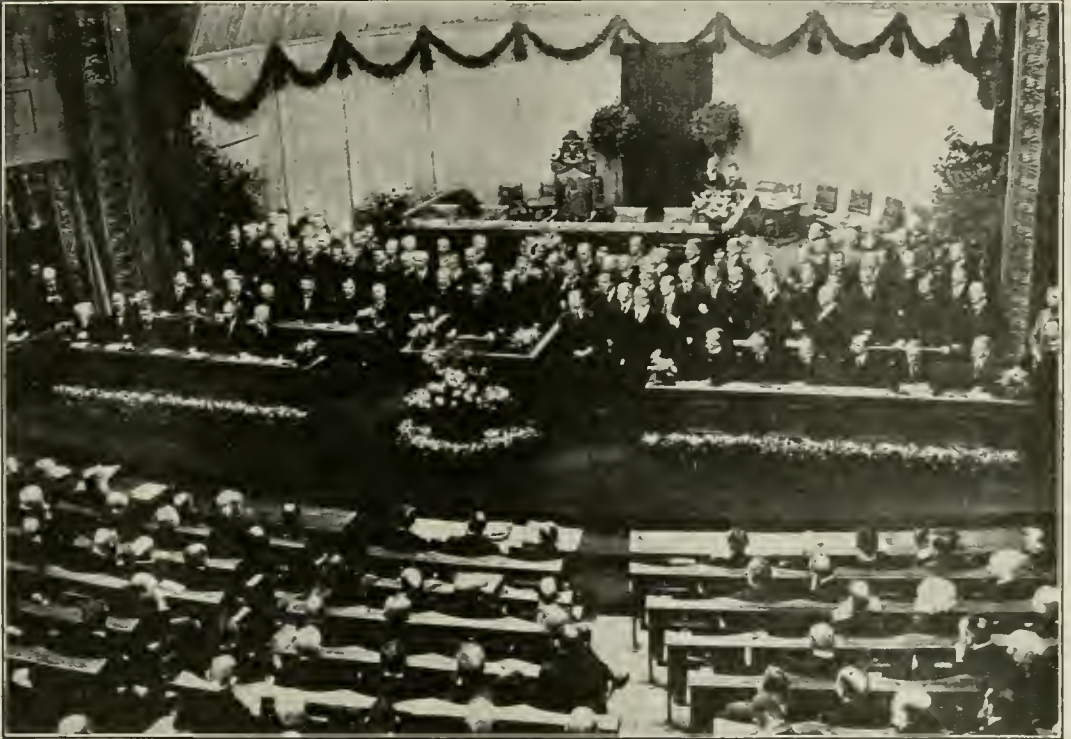
not to drive us to the uttermost. Hunger is preferable to disgrace, and deprivation is to be preferred to dishonor." Going on to the questions of the peace settlement, Ebert declared that Germany had laid down her arms with confidence in President Wilson and his Fourteen Points, and asserted that the present free government of Germany believed it was within its rights in asking to enter the coming League of Nations. "We turn, therefore," said Ebert, "to all the peoples of the world for justice. We ask that our economic life be not destroyed. The German people have fought for inner self-determination. It cannot be perfected from outside." The Premier was loudly cheered when he proposed a union of Germany and their brethren of Austria, that the bonds sundered in 1866 might again be sealed. Following a strong appeal for German unity, Ebert declared that the Provisional government had been the executor of a bankrupt régime. "We will call on the old spirit of Weimar," he concluded. "We will be a realm of justice and truth."

EBERT ELECTED PRESIDENT

Next day the Assembly proceeded to business, choosing not only its own officers but electing Ebert as Provisional President of Germany and Philip Scheidemann as Chancellor. The Majority Socialists thus headed the new government, but important posts were given to the other parties. The new Cabinet was composed of seven Majority Socialists, three Democrats, three Catholic Centrists, and one Conservative. In his speech of acceptance President Ebert emphasized his non-partisan attitude and policy. "I will administer my office," he stated, "not as the leader of a single party. . . . We shall combat domination by force from whatever direction it may come. We wish to found our state only on the basis of right and on our freedom to shape our destinies at home and abroad. However harsh may be the lot threatening the German people, we do not despair of Germany's vital forces." The new President was accorded a great ovation both within the House and by the crowd assembled outside when he left the Assembly building. The new régime had begun under favorable auspices.

The election of Ebert to the Provisional Presidency and the composition of the new government were greeted throughout Germany with general satisfaction. The only discordant notes came from Spartacide and Independent circles at one extreme and Junker circles at the other. The Majority Socialist press was naturally enthusiastic.

"Ebert is no shining light, nor has he studied as much as some others, but he is the embodiment of good, common sense. When after a day's work he sits behind a good bottle of wine, his hands folded over the table, this natural wisdom shows to the best advantage. There is nothing stiff and dry about him, but everything is cordial and round, like his per-



G. Underwood and Underwood.

Friedrich Ebert Delivering His Address of Acceptance as the First President of Germany

Before the delegates in Germany's first constitutional assembly in the Royal Theater at Weimar, the one time harness-maker agreed to head the new German Republic.

Vorwärts, its chief organ, declared: "Saddler Fritz is the natural President. This means victory for himself, victory for the proletariat, victory for Socialism. The *bourgeois* parties, which during the electoral campaign proclaimed loudly that the Social Democracy had proved its inability to govern, have elected a Socialist President. They know in their hearts that only the Social Democracy can govern Germany now." Typical of middle-class comment is this article by Theodor Wolff in the *Berliner Tageblatt*:

son. He possesses that indefinable astuteness and tenacious perseverance without which, even in revolutionary times, no harness-maker can become President. The German labor movement has created no powerful individualities, but a vigorous, bright, critical spirit. On such ground as Ebert's they have a ground that lies between the tropics and the arctic regions."

Between the tropics of the Spartacides, indeed, and the arctic of the military party, the choice of Ebert was probably not displeasing to the moderates.

BOURGEOIS "COUNTER-STRIKES"

All this time it must not be imagined that the defeated Independents and Spartacides were contenting themselves with newspaper criticisms. On the contrary, they were keeping up an annoying opposition which filled Germany with tumult and disorder. No longer possessing the power to launch open insurrections, they fomented an epidemic of strikes and local brigandage. In many cities and towns where Spartacism was strong the normal life of the community was simply paralyzed.

This, however, presently produced decidedly unexpected developments. Exasperated beyond endurance, the middle-class elements adopted the plan of meeting strike with strike. Thus, at Bremen, when the Spartacides threatened a strike which would cut off coal, gas, electricity, and food, the amalgamated doctors, nurses, hospital attendants, pharmacists, and public health officials announced that they, in turn, would cease all their professional activities; that sick proletarians could thenceforth obtain neither drugs nor medical attendance, while proletarian patients would be left unattended in their beds. This was taking a leaf out of the Spartacides' book with a vengeance! The Spartacides voiced great indignation, asserting that the *bourgeois* "strikers" were neglecting their sacred duty to protect life and health. But the counter-strikers retorted that the public life and health were no more endangered by their action than by the projected "general strike" of the Spartacides, and that if the public utilities were tied up, the public health might as well be doubly jeopardized. So sobered were the Spartacides by this prospect that their strike was called off. Similar scenes took place in other German cities, usually with similar results. The *bourgeois* worm had turned at last.

GATHERING CLOUDS

Bourgeois counter-strikes might succeed in residential cities for the moment, but the industrial regions were amenable to no such treatment, while proletarian unrest was continually aggravated by the increasingly deplorable economic situation. The ugly truth was that Germany was stripped bare of pri-

mary raw materials and was threatened with downright starvation. Against these jagged rocks the best efforts of the Ebert government to maintain public order were continually shattered. Hunger, idleness, and despair were trump cards for the Spartacides in their desperate game of Bolshevism. For a few weeks the German political horizon had lightened with the suppression of the January outbreaks and the convocation of the Weimar Assembly, but soon the clouds gathered loweringly on the horizon once more.

HUNGER!

So many conflicting reports had come out of Germany regarding food conditions that the British government had sent in a commission which visited the chief German cities. Their report, issued February 20th, fully confirmed the gloomiest pictures of suffering and destitution. The paralysis of Germany's industrial life had produced a terrible plague of unemployment. In Berlin alone the commission found 200,000 unemployed, increasing at the rate of 5,000 per day. "The increase in unemployment forms the most dangerous element in the present situation," the report asserted. "Unemployment and hunger are the chief predisposing causes of Bolshevism, and if these are removed there will be no chance of Bolshevism gaining a foothold in Germany. All over Germany, except in the coalfield areas, industry is stagnant, owing to lack of coal. Railway transportation is crippled throughout the country because of the enormous quantity of rolling-stock lost since last November, partly under the armistice and partly through abandonment at the front. The shortage of staple articles of food throughout the country is such that the mass of the population is living upon rations which, while maintaining life, are insufficient to nourish the body adequately. Mothers and young children are particularly affected. Malnutrition has increased the mortality, diminished births, and given rise to new diseases." The report stated that, without imports, breadstuffs would be exhausted in Germany by the beginning of April and potatoes by the end of May, while the meat ration could be kept up only by the perilous policy of slaughtering breeding stock and all milch cows.



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A Bird's-Eye View of Mainz

Headquarters of the French Army of Occupation after the signing of the Armistice. On Nov. 9, 1918, the population of Mainz revolted against the government.

THE "DANCE OF DEATH"

The truly horrible effects of all this upon the popular psychology were vividly depicted by an American journalist, Julian Grande, at the beginning of March. "In all the large cities," he wrote, "the populations are starving. Tens of thousands of women and children are ill or literally dying from the effects of hunger. Berlin just now is in a state of anarchy, fully a million persons being unemployed, not so much because work is lacking as owing to physical unfitness for labor. . . . Moreover, a large section of the

granted the Associated Press representative by Professor Emil Abderhalden, the noted German psychologist. "The Entente Powers," asserted the professor, "unquestionably committed an irreparable mistake when they set out to subject the German people to a systematic process of soul-crushing. . . . For a long time after the depressing days of the military collapse the iron will of determination prevailed to mobilize all the economic potentialities for the purpose of getting the nation back on its feet. Nothing, one would imagine, could have been more welcome to the Entente Powers than an orderly, coördi-



Danzig

Formerly a city of the German Empire, now a free city under Polish control.

people in the cities have apparently lost all self-control and sense of responsibility, for, in the midst of so much distress, a wave of utter frivolity and recklessness has taken possession of the German urban population. Men and women are suddenly abandoning themselves to dancing and debauchery, and are deaf to all appeals and entreaties. This dancing is known as the 'dance of death,' for many who spend all the night dancing die the next day. Those few who have kept their senses look on absolutely aghast at this psychological phenomenon, the main cause of which is undoubtedly sheer desperation."

"SOUL-CRUSHING"

How Germans themselves regarded the situation may be judged from an interview

nated Germany. Now it is convulsed to its very foundations. The inclination to work is lacking in the very widest circles. No one dares think of the morrow. A new revolution is creeping through the country. Ample food shipments will be necessary to stave off the worst. What is arriving now is just about sufficient to maintain the present condition of hunger and to postpone starvation and catastrophe. Only an amply nourished people is capable of returning to a regular working schedule. For five months, one staggering psychic insult has followed another from abroad. Night after night this great people goes to sleep without any hope for the future and wakes up bereft of all hope. It sees only destruction ahead. Why work? Why plan? To-day your poor German is told that the left



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Dr. Bernhard Dernburg

One of Germany's most active business men, and former Colonial Secretary. As his country's representative in the United States, he strove earnestly, but in vain, to keep America neutral. He is a member of the National Assembly in the new German Republic.

bank of the Rhine is to go to France; tomorrow he is informed that Danzig is to become Polish, and Posen and Upper Silesia are lost forever. Now he is made to believe that the war indemnity is to be 500,000,000,000 marks, the next moment it is fixed at 1,000,000,000,000. To-day he reads that Germany is to be occupied by the Entente forces for fifty years, and the next day it is proclaimed that the German war prisoners are to remain as Entente slaves." Professor Abderhalden asserted that the existing chaos, with its accompanying phenomena of social ex-

weight, which is equivalent to a loss of 50 per cent. of their working capacity, because of the continuance of the blockade after the armistice, and the national system of rationing. The mortality due to tuberculosis shows a horrifying increase."

THE BAVARIAN REVOLT

Given such conditions, it was inevitable that Spartacism should flame forth once more. The fire burst out first in Bavaria. I have already alluded to that Independent régime established by Kurt Eisner at Munich on the very first day of the November Revolution, and the reader will recall the manner in which it had maintained itself. In early January elections had been held for a regularized Bavarian government. In these elections the Independents had been badly beaten, but, true to the Bolshevik doctrine of the proletarian dictatorship, Kurt Eisner had refused to acknowledge the result of bourgeois voting and continued to hold sway in Munich, the Bavarian capital. This caused much discontent and encour-



The Kaiser and His Six Sons

Millions of men died in the war, but bullets did not seem to reach the rear lines, or other chosen places of safety.

cesses, such as dancing and gambling, which recalled the orgies of the Middle Ages, was the worst conceivable soil for the propagation of democracy, which demands primarily consciousness of duty and an exalted spirit of sacrifice on the part of the individual for the common good. "Now," he continued, "naked egoism is triumphant. But this is also a deadly germ. Unless peace and justice are soon negotiated and a swift end put to this process of soul-torture, the world will behold a totally impoverished nation and a physically debased people. The hunger blockade inflicted mortal wounds. Up to the present, approximately 1,000,000 persons, chiefly children, are dead as a result. The survivors, on the average, have lost 20 per cent. of their

aged the local reactionaries to attempt a monarchist plot. The result was that on February 21st, Kurt Eisner was assassinated by Count Arco Valley, an ex-officer of the Prussian Guard, who shot Eisner dead with the cry: "Down with the Revolution! Long live the Kaiser!" At the same time a body of reactionaries attempted to seize general control of the city. This, however, led to a furious rising of the proletariat. The reactionaries were routed, and a full-fledged Spartacide "Soviet" was proclaimed. On February 26th this body began passing measures the radicalism of which fully equaled the doings of their brethren of Moscow and Petrograd. All bourgeois dwellings were turned over to the proletariat, the prisons

were jammed with upper and middle-class "hostages," all non-Spartacide newspapers were suppressed, and a wireless dispatch was flashed in all directions appealing to the world-proletariat for sympathy and support. The leaven quickly spread from Munich, several other Bavarian cities going over to Spartacism.

REVOLT IN SAXONY

Meanwhile the former Kingdom of Saxony had burst into a sympathetic flame. On the

SECOND SPARTACIDE RISING IN BERLIN

Berlin was of course involved in the rising wave of unrest. On March 2d the Independent Socialists convened in party congress at Berlin. From the outset they made no attempt to conceal their intention of overthrowing the Ebert government by violence. Their leader, Hugo Haase, made a most incendiary speech, asserting that, although the National Assembly had gone to sleep, "the proletarian revolution was wide awake." He added that the Soviet form of government



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Fighting "the Reds" in Berlin

Government troops perched on a roof of a shed and supplied with light machine guns are shown protecting the Government buildings against the Radicals.

25th all Saxony had been tied up by a general strike, and many of the Saxon cities fell under Spartacide control. The Leipzig "Soviet" showed which way the wind was blowing by issuing a manifesto demanding the immediate retirement of the Weimar government as "an impediment to Socialism and the liberation of the proletariat." At the same time Spartacide risings were attempted in many other places, notably in Baden, but here the movement failed, the Karlsruhe and Mannheim risings being put down in blood by the quick action of the government troops.

was at all costs to be immediately put in force throughout Germany. "And we propose," he added, "to establish it firmly in our Revolutionary government. The principles of Bolshevism cannot be suppressed. They are bound to prevail."

After a wild demonstration the congress proclaimed a proletarian general strike, which went into effect next day. Berlin was paralyzed. All traffic ceased and business was at a standstill. Indefatigable General Noske, however, prepared to meet the crisis. Martial law was proclaimed, "to protect the bulk

of the working people from famine and the terror of the minority." During the night picked government troops were brought into Berlin, bivouacking in the squares and gardens of the city. At dawn of March 4th nearly 30,000 government troops were in position, and immediately proceeded to arrest all guilty of violent conduct. Fighting began promptly, and Berlin was soon in the throes of a battle nearly as fierce as that fought in January. In some respects, indeed, the fury and cruelty of the struggle surpassed that of the January insurrection. The Spartacides were detected torturing prisoners, and this so infuriated the government troops that they slaughtered their Spartacide prisoners without mercy. In fact, General Noske presently ordered that all persons taken with arms in their hands should be shot, and the command was obeyed to the letter, whole batches of Spartacides being mown down by rifle and machine-gun fire. In the midst of the struggle the Spartacides let loose 5,000 Russian prisoners confined at Spandau, near Berlin, and these spread in terrifying hands over the countryside. On March 12th, after more than a week of desperate fighting, the insurrection was stamped out, but the loss of life was heavier than in January, while the destruction of property exceeded \$10,000,000.

THE MUNICH SOVIET

Spartacism had again been put down at Berlin, but in Munich it still defiantly raised its ugly head. The reader will remember the Spartacide rising which had occurred at Munich after the assassination of Kurt Eisner by Royalist malcontents. The revolutionists had promptly formed a regular "Soviet" government in faithful imitation of the Russian model, had organized a "Red" Army, and now aspired to extend their authority from Munich over all Bavaria and ultimately over all Germany. Their aims were well set forth in their official proclamation: "The government of the Bavarian Soviet Republic follows the example of the Hungarian and Russian peoples. It will resume immediately a brotherly connection with these peoples, but it declines any connection with the contemptible Ebert-Scheidemann government, because that government is continuing under the flag

of a Socialist republic the imperialistic, capitalistic, and military business of the disgraceful, broken-down German Empire. It calls upon all German brothers to take the same view. It greets all proletarians wherever revolutionary socialism is fighting—in Württemberg, in the Ruhr district, in the whole world. As a sign of joyous hope for all humanity, it establishes April 7th as a holiday for all humanity. As a sign of the beginning of the departure, the flight of the age of capitalism, all work is stopped. Bavaria ceases, on April 7th, in so far as it is not necessary for the welfare of the working people, to do labor. Long live Bavaria! Long live the Soviet Government! Long live the world revolution!"

Naturally, the Federal Government at Weimar prepared to resist this Bavarian Spartacide eruption as it had the outbreak in Berlin, and its hands were strengthened by the Bavarian government established as a result of the January elections. This government, to be sure, had had to flee from Munich, but it established itself at Bamberg, in northern Bavaria, where it was supported by the bulk of the population. The Bavarian peasantry, in particular, showed great hostility to the Munich proletariat, and a congress of the Bavarian Peasants' Unions declared a food blockade against Munich and other nearby towns which were under Soviet control.

So menacing was the situation throughout Germany that the Federal government felt that the Munich center of Bolshevism must be cauterized if the infection were not to spread broadcast. Therefore all available troops were swiftly concentrated against Munich, the Bavarian *bourgeois* government at Bamberg lending effective assistance.

THE RED TERROR

Meanwhile Munich itself was languishing beneath a terror as drastic as that of Moscow or Petrograd. The Soviet authority was wielded by a triumvirate consisting of two Bavarian Spartacide leaders, Sontheimer and Dr. Levien, and one Axelrod, a Russian revolutionary "expert" lent by Lenin. This Red trio kept the *bourgeois* classes in constant terror, the lives of all being at the mercy of Revolutionary Tribunals which functioned

ceaselessly and sent a steady stream of victims to prison or execution. The situation in mid-April was thus described by an American journalist, George Renwick: "Munich still represents the most gloomy picture on the German stage. A set of ruffians calling themselves 'Ideal Anarchists' are in complete control of the situation. They are installed in the Wittelsbach Palace, and their council-room is the spacious bed-chamber of the ex-

cial sheet, containing government proclamations concerning the socialization of the press, printing establishments, book shops, cinemas, and theaters. All places of entertainment are shut and nearly all shops are closed."

During the latter half of April a regular campaign was fought between the government and Soviet forces. At first the Communist troops fought well, but in the closing days of April the redoubtable General Noske, with



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Berlin Peace Treaty Protest Meeting

Members of the National Young Men's Association in front of the Roon Monument, Berlin. The large sign reads: "In 1648-1684 Louis XIV stole German Alsace; in 1919 Clemenceau steals it."

King. An ante-room is the former monarch's bath-room. From all over town great supplies of food and wine, appropriated in private houses, have been brought to the palace kitchen, and the mess of the Ideal Anarchists is in the vast reception room of the palace. The new régime keeps open house, and it is mostly a crew of terrorists, Red Guards, and various nondescript persons which gathers there at meal times. The general strike in the city continues. All trams have stopped running. No newspaper appears save the offi-

a large army of picked Prussian troops, arrived upon the scene. His name spread terror in the Communist ranks, and on the night of May 1st the government troops penetrated into the city. After two days of sporadic fighting the last Spartacide surrendered, and on May 4th all Munich, beflagged and illuminated, joyfully celebrated its liberation from Communist terrorism. To the Ebert government the suppression of Bolshevism in Bavaria brought great relief, and gave it a firmer hand in dealing with the Spartacides in Berlin.

THE TIDINGS FROM VERSAILLES

Domestic matters were, however, temporarily forgotten in face of the momentous news from the West. The great Peace Conference had at last elaborated its decision regarding Germany, and on May 7th the German delegates received the text of the



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Prince Max of Baden

Who from Oct. 4 to Nov. 8, 1918, held the position of German Chancellor.

Allies' judgment. The story of the dramatic events at Versailles belongs elsewhere in this series. What we are here concerned with is the effect upon the German people.

That effect was one of stunning shock. Hard terms had been expected, but the actual terms of the draft treaty exceeded the Germans' worst expectations. The public seemed literally overcome, and all business came to a standstill. The Weimar government shared

the popular emotion, as shown by its circular to the local state governments: "In deep distress and weighed down by cares, the German people have waited through the months of the armistice for the peace conditions. Their publication has brought the bitterest disappointment and unspeakable grief to the entire people. A public expression ought to be given these feelings by all Germans." The circular then went on to recommend a week of public mourning.

In many quarters, especially in army circles, furious defiance was the order of the day. Thus, General von Frantz wrote: "The Germanic giant is to be beaten into submission and placed in chains. We are to live for generations poor and enslaved. But the harder the enemy forges our slaves' shackles, the sooner shall we burst them. To be sure, German strength at present is lamed by a shameful armistice, which robbed us of our weapons, and by a revolution, which robbed us of our discipline. But German strength persists unbroken and the fury of battle continues to live in the German races. Our enemies should not forget this in discussing the peace terms. A peace that humiliates the German people and reduces it to serfdom forms the seed for a new war, which must break out for the freedom of the Fatherland."

RAILING AT THE PEACE TERMS

The press was practically a unit in furious condemnation of the draft-treaty, all excoriating it as "unfulfillable" and "an instrument of robbery." The Berlin *Tageszeitung*, a conservative paper, said: "One thing is certain: there can be no question of this being a peace of justice. What a peace of justice after the Entente pattern and in accordance with French desire looks like is shown by the conditions, which leave nothing of Germany but a torn and tattered territory." The Majority Socialist organs were just as violent as the conservative papers. The *Vorwärts* wrote, in a leading article headed "A Peace of Annihilation": "If we sign this peace it is because we are bound by force, but in our hearts we resolutely reject it. Such a peace is an attempt to exterminate a nation, not by force of arms, but by a means more brutal—economic slavery." The *Frankfurter Zeitung* wrote: "We

are at the graveside of right. The only doubt is whether it also means the graveside of the German Nation. Never has murder been committed in more courteous form or with more cynical equanimity. The German reply will have to consider that the draft deviates from Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points as far as the east is from the west." The financial writers commented exhaustively upon the economic clauses of the draft-treaty. They all held that a solution of Germany's economic problems would be rendered impossible. For example, the *Berliner Tageblatt's* expert said that Germany had, up to now, hoped that by the next generation it might be able to recover and live by its own work, but that now this hope had been rudely dashed to the ground. Even the Independent Socialist papers joined in the condemnatory chorus. The chief Independent organ, *Die Freiheit*, said that beside the Versailles treaty, the German Imperialist masterpiece at Brest-Litovsk was moderation.

These first popular protests were reëchoed by the government spokesmen. In an interview with the American Associated Press correspondent, President Ebert called the Peace Treaty a "monstrous document." He declared that history had no precedent for such determination to annihilate completely a vanquished people. The world's youngest republic, in the hour of gravest peril, had weighed its overseas big brother (America) and had found him wanting. Next day, in a speech before the National Assembly, Chancellor Scheidemann said: "This treaty is, in view of the German Government, unacceptable; so unacceptable that I am unable to believe that this earth could bear such a document without a cry issuing from millions and millions of throats in all lands, without distinction of party: Away with this murderous scheme!"

MAXIMILIAN HARDEN

One of the few dissentient notes in the well-nigh universal chorus of wrath and condemnation was that of Maximilian Harden, who wrote in his organ, *Zukunft*: "The peace conditions are not harder than I expected. They were unpleasant to the greater part of the people, but could one really have expected them otherwise? The Germans have not



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Maximilian Harden

Editor of *Zukunft*, who vigorously criticized Germany's conduct during the war.

given very convincing mental guarantees during the six months since the Revolution that they have changed their system. On the contrary, the present government and the press have used the same methods of incitement, the same tricks of bluff, as under the old rule of the petty nobility. The government's proclamations and speeches are only bad copies of the Kaiser's time. The whole press resounds in protests and has started a campaign of incitement against the Allies couched in violent language. It is agitating for refusal to sign the treaty, and to what use? All must know that the Allies, by keeping up the blockade and occupying the coal districts, can force Germany to sign whatever they want. The Allies have been threatened that Germany would join the Bolsheviks. But that would be suicidal. The only way to rescue the country is by openness and honesty. The Revolution has been a great disappointment. Germany should have



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Herr Gustav Bauer

Who headed the German Cabinet following the fall of the Scheidemann ministry in 1919.

sent men who would have laid their cards on the table and got the Allies to understand that some of the conditions were unacceptable. If Germany showed its good-will to do what is in its power to comply with the Allies' requests, the Allies would see that conditions were changed in favor of Germany, because they know that there must be a Germany and that it is impossible to destroy the German people."

TO SIGN OR NOT TO SIGN

The weeks following the reception of the Allies' peace conditions were a critical time in Germany. Within the country raged a tremendous controversy, many voices urging defiance of the enemy and passive resistance to the bitter end, others pointing out the terrible consequences of refusal and urging compliance to hard necessity. Meanwhile, at Versailles, the German delegation presented

voluminous objections to the first terms and urged substantial modifications. The Allies in fact did modify the draft-treaty in some respects, though its main terms remained substantially the same. The Allies announced that this was their last word, and that Germany must either sign the amended treaty or take the consequences.

This ultimatum wrenched from the Germans a last spasm of protest and despairing rage. A furious debate took place in the National Assembly. The German delegates at Versailles actually advised against acceptance, but the Allied preparations for coercion were so terrifying that a majority of the Assembly decided to bow to the inevitable. The Scheidemann cabinet resigned, but a scratch cabinet was formed to cover the emergency. The new cabinet, headed by Herr Gustav Bauer, contained many of the members of the former cabinet and represented much the same political grouping.

It was on June 22nd, the last day of grace, that the Assembly finally decided to sign unconditionally, the last appeals to the Allies for concessions having been peremptorily refused. It was a funereal scene. Only once did the Assembly vent some of its suppressed feeling when a Conservative deputy, after reading letters from frontier districts urging refusal even though they should be overrun by the Allied advance, shouted, "Let the whole country suffer rather than submit to shame!" But this gust of emotion soon subsided, and a little after four o'clock in the afternoon the President of the Assembly declared the debate closed and the urns were passed around for collecting the fateful red and white tickets on which respectively "No" and "Aye" were inscribed.

TO SIGN!

In dead silence the votes were counted. They registered 237 for signing, 138 against signing, and 25 blanks. By a decisive majority the National Assembly had voted for peace! In the same dead silence the Assembly listened to Premier Bauer as he formally announced the decision with the following words: "At this hour of life and death, under the menace of invasion, for the last time I raise in free Germany a protest against this

treaty of violence and destruction. I protest against this mockery of self-determination, this enslavement of the German people, this new menace to the peace of the world under the mask of a treaty of peace. No signing can enfeeble this protest which we raise and swear to. This treaty does not lose its annihilating power by alterations in detail. Protesting against it is useless and is at the risk of a new crisis within forty-eight hours. Our power of resistance is broken and there is no means of averting this treaty." Premier Bauer concluded by expressing his faith in the

German people and their final realization of a better future. He said they were faced with years of labor for the foreigner, but owed it to their descendants to hold the country together. "We must safeguard our new liberty," he said. "There must be a will to work and a discipline in all ranks of society. There are no miraculous charms to cure a nation. Even a world revolution cannot cure us of the malady from which we are wearing away. Only by a revolution of our moral consciousness can we succeed in raising ourselves out of our night into a better future."

THE FALL OF A MIGHTY EMPIRE

Honeycombed by Radical Conflicts Within, and Humbled in the Field,
the Austrian Empire Collapses

THE TRAGIC EMPIRE

WHEN the turmoil in Europe has subsided and the nations adjust themselves to some sort of normal and peaceful existence, there are probabilities that even Russia and Germany will regain a position of power among the countries of the world. History often forgives, although it does not forget; and just as France was not permanently penalized for the sins of Napoleon, so the future generations of Germany and Russia may eventually be cleared of the guilt of their forefathers. The two may some day again be among the great powers of the earth. But no such prospect lies before what used to be the old Empire of Austria-Hungary. There the mighty have fallen never to rise again. A dark tragedy has always hovered above that Empire of many peoples and many tongues, a tragedy which made it the protagonist in the quarrel of the nations and at the end smashed it into many fragments which can never again be put together. The thought of the long history and great career of the Hapsburg House makes the tragedy seem all the more poignant, and casts a veil of irony over the destiny of kings. Starting far back in the dim Middle Ages, the Hapsburgs gradually extended their rule from a castle on a hill in

Switzerland until in the sixteenth century one of the house, Charles V., reigned as Holy Roman Emperor over Spain, Germany, Belgium, Holland, and the greater part of Italy, as well as Austria and part of Hungary. For over five centuries, from 1273 until its abolition by Napoleon in 1806, the Holy Roman Empire, with few exceptions, drew upon the great house of the Hapsburgs for its emperors—who theoretically wielded the scepter of the Cæsars. This old and powerful House, at one time the most respected in Europe, has now crumbled to dust.

THE ILL-STARRED FRANCIS JOSEPH

For sixty-eight years there ruled in Austria the Emperor in whose reign Austria precipitated the bloody conflict which has prostrated the world, with tragedy hanging constantly over his own head. From the very beginning his reign was full of sinister events. He came into power in 1848 on the bloody wave of counter-revolution. He was a remote claimant to the throne, who was given preference because all the intervening heirs were insane. Not long after he became emperor an attempt was made upon his own life by a patriotic Hungarian who stabbed him with a knife. Fourteen years later his brother, Archduke

Maximilian, was a deserted and miserable adventurer in Mexico, where he was shot by revolutionary troops. In 1898 his wife was stabbed to death at Geneva by a mad Italian anarchist. Less than ten years before that, the Emperor's only son, the Crown Prince Rudolph, upon whom the Austrians had pinned their faith, met death in a sudden and mysterious way. On January 30, 1889, his dead body was found in a hunting lodge near Vienna, and beside his body lay that of the Baroness Marie Vetsera. Hardly less mysterious than the death of Rudolph was the disappearance of the Archduke John Salvator, who gave up his title, changed his name to "John Orth" and, after amusing Vienna by his charm and talent, suddenly vanished. Almost every member of his family brought disgrace and sorrow to the old emperor. Scandals and insanities darkened the name of the house. The climax came when the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his morganatic wife were shot and killed at Serajevo by a Bosnian student. That was truly a shot "heard round the world." This last tragic scene in the life of the old Emperor ushered in the supreme tragedy of the House of Hapsburg.

THE BABEL OF THE CONTINENT

It is not to be understood, however, that the war was merely, even in the case of Austria, a manifestation of some dark and melodramatic fate working itself out through Francis Joseph. The tragedy of Serajevo was a sweeping gesture behind which were grim and solid facts. The Empire of Austria-Hungary was built upon a volcano. It was tottering on the back of restless races. The race problems of the Empire were so vital that it is necessary to summarize them briefly. Roughly speaking the Dual Empire was divided into three great race-zones, running east and west: to the north a broad band of Slavs; to the south a shorter and thicker band of Slavs; between the two a wide belt of non-Slavs; in the west Germans; in the center Magyars; in the east a mixture of Germans, Magyars and Rumanians. The Germans and Magyars were not numerically superior to the other races and yet they dominated the empire. The central position of the Germans and Magyars accounted for their predominance. Another reason was

the disunion among the Slavs; for a variety of linguistic, religious, and cultural barriers separated the various Slavic groups from each other. These differences gave rise to a variety of ambitions all vigorously opposed to Austrian rule. The Czechs in Bohemia dreamed of national independence; the Poles of West Galicia dreamed of union with the independent nation of Poland; the Ruthenians in East Galicia were deeply attached to the national Ukrainian movement. In Bosnia-Herzegovina the Serbs were yearning for union with a Greater Serbia. It was the Austro-Serbian clash in the last named ambition that ignited the great European conflict. But little Serbia's defiance of her huge neighbor was only a step in the fierce duel between Austria-Hungary and Russia. The stakes of this duel were not Serbia or even the Balkans. Russian imperialism was determined to annex the Galician Ruthenians and to erect Czechoslav and Yugoslav national states. Austria's counter-thrust was an attempt to bring all the Serbs into a Yugoslav block beneath the Hapsburg scepter, while erecting Polish and Ukrainian states at a mutilated Russia's expense.

THE WAR AND THE RACES

When, as a result of this initial spark, all of Europe broke out in a wild conflagration, the nobility, the Army, the bureaucracy, and the Church together with the German and Magyar populations rushed to the support of the government and the Hapsburg throne. The passionate phraseology of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, so unusual in diplomatic documents, was an accurate reflection of the popular mood. The Viennese press demanded decided measures, and when the formal outbreak actually came, it was hailed with a shout of joy. "When we consider the provocations of which Serbia has been guilty for so many years," exclaimed the *Tageblatt*, "the solemn pledges made and broken, the defiance which we have put up with from an unscrupulous neighbor whom no kindness can appease, we experience a sense of relief at this outburst of the war." Hungarian sentiment was even more enthusiastic. "The whole nation joyfully hastens to follow the call of his Majesty to the flag!" cried the Hungarian Premier, Tisza. The Hungarian deputies cheered fran-

tically. Count Albert Apponyi, leader of the Opposition, cried out: "If we had stood these conditions any longer we should have reached the point where Europe would have called us her second 'Sick Man.'" The Magyar press railed bitterly at the Serbians. The leading Budapest paper wrote: "The Serbian Government will be shown up as a nest of pestilential rats which come from their territory over our border to spread death and destruction."

The bitterness against Russia, the chief foe of the Empire, was particularly great. Austria saw in the whole war a climax to her violent duel with the Slav Empire of the East. Hungary made the interpretation even broader. "Pan-Russianism, that is the word!" cried a Budapest paper. "No! The present war is not, as certain persons assert, a war of Slavism against Germanism. It is a war of a great part of civilized Europe against Russian autocracy and Serb terrorism. . . . If the Triple Entente . . . should win, it would mean the European sluice-gates open to Muscovite autocracy, to Cossack militarism, to all sorts of political and religious heresies. The dyke once broken, it would be the end of European civilization." Such was the temper of the ruling classes and of the Magyar and German populations, a temper full of loyalty to the ruling house and the Empire.

The other races in the Empire were only partly loyal. The Croats entered the war against their Serbian brethren with unexpected vigor. A part of the Czechs in Bohemia remained loyal, as did the Poles and the Ruthenians in Galicia. On the other hand, the forces of secession in these various groups were violently shaking the already crumbling Empire. The Serb element of the Jugoslavs was honeycombed with secessionism, and even among the Croats many malcontents were found. The Czechoslovak disaffection was so deep-rooted that thousands of them surrendered to Russia. But this side of the story will be treated in another chapter. On the whole the Austrian and Hungarian populations were enthusiastic for the war and in high spirits, confident that the "shining sword" of their German ally would smite the enemy and realize Austro-Hungarian dreams in the Balkans.

Just prior to the outbreak of the war, Count Michael Karolyi, leader of the independents

of Hungary, came to America to plead Hungary's cause—harping on the agrarian troubles with Austria, the political dualism of the Empire, and the Magyar desires for a full



Photograph by D. Thompson.

Italians Directing Artillery Fire

A party of officers perched on a crag in the Dolomite Alps, observing the work of their artillery and correcting ranges.

and completely independent national life. But in the face of the war, all these tendencies were subordinated. National aspirations in Hungary gave way to a common desire to defend the Empire against the foe.

THE CRUMBLING EMPIRE

But all the high confidence and shrill optimism were soon stilled by a series of crushing disasters. Only a fringe of Hungary was touched by the war, but over one-third of Austria was overrun with hostile troops. The very existence of the Empire was threatened. The Russian Cossacks were sweep-



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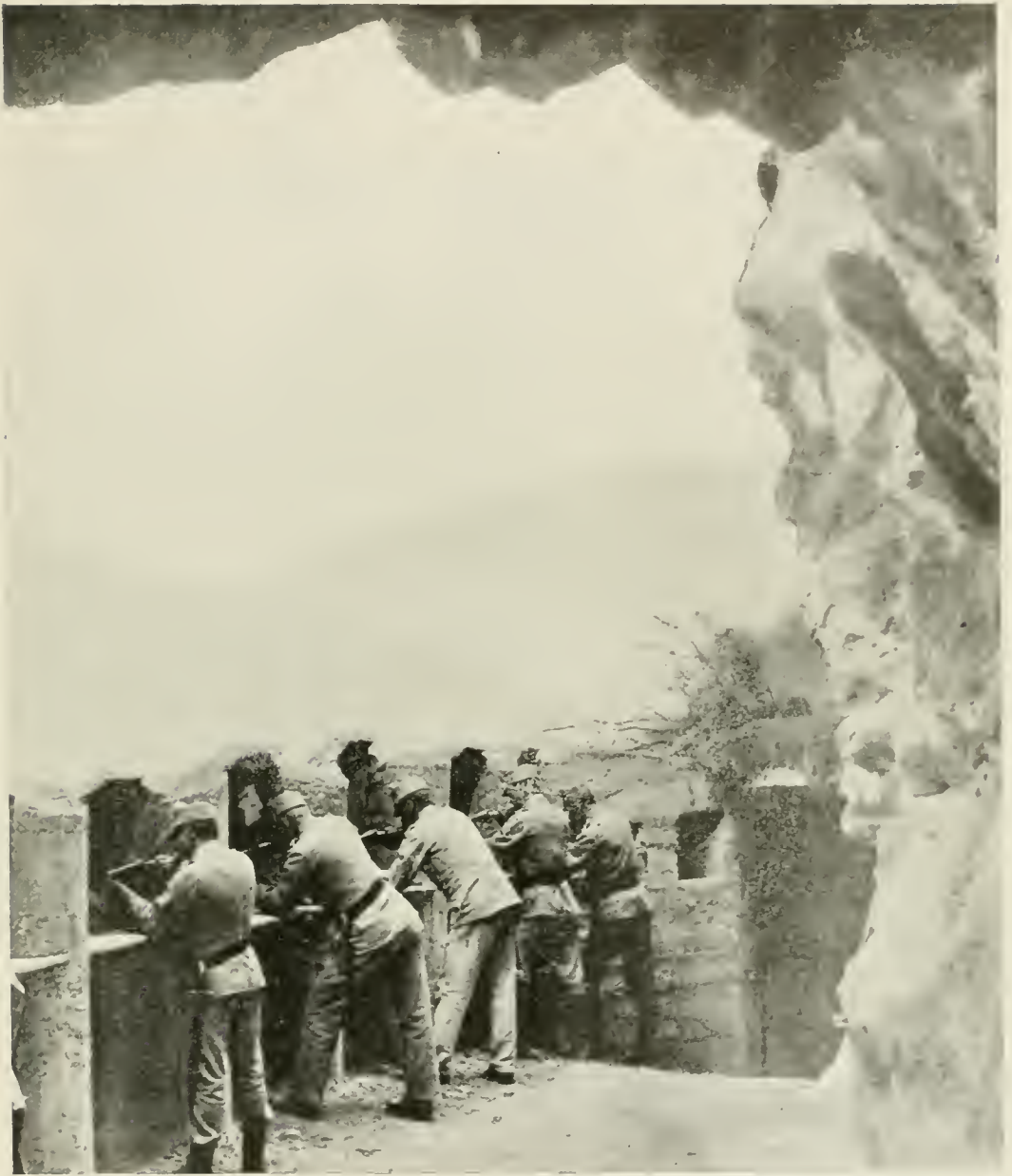
Austrian Troops at Field Mass in Russian Poland

ing the plains spreading ruin and disaster. Muscovy threatened to snatch Austrian Poland away; Serbia, in a victorious mood, claimed large Yugoslav provinces of Austria and Hungary. Italy and Rumania were standing ready to swoop down upon the Empire to seize territories inhabited by populations of their nationalities. All this caused the disloyal elements of Francis Joseph's realms to rejoice. The rumble of approaching revolution was heard from Bohemia and among the Serbo-

Croats, movements which were suppressed only after the application of the severest military measures. Lemberg, the metropolis of Galicia, was in the hands of the Cossacks. Czernowitz, the capital of Bukowina, changed hands four times in the first nine months of the war. The Empire, much poorer than Germany, was loaded down with heavy financial burdens, almost too much for its relatively slender means. As a result of all these disasters, a wave of pessimism swept over the country. The Entente press was full of rumors that Austria-Hungary was so weakened and exhausted that it was contemplating a separate peace. But such rumors were then without foundation. The pessimism of the Empire was the pessimism of desperate resolution, not of abject despair. At the end of 1914, *The Pester Lloyd*, the leading Hungarian newspaper, exclaimed hotly: "Let our opponents understand once for all: We are going to hold out to the end, and we have not for a single moment meditated a separate peace with any one." Count Apponyi wrote: "All possibilities are open to us if we win; all are closed if we succumb. If Muscovite aggression wins, it is the end of our historic mission; if it breaks before our energy, it is that mission's apotheosis."

ITALY: THE NEW FOE

In the midst of the gloom created by the overwhelming disasters in the eastern theater of war, Austria-Hungary was confronted by a new enemy, and that one who had been a friend. From the very beginning of the war, the Austrians had looked with bitter resentment upon the cold neutrality of their Italian allies. They considered this neutrality a faithless betrayal of the Triple Alliance. Germany was eager to gain as many allies as possible, and as the number of nations opposing her grew greater and greater, she looked about desperately for some means of inducing Italy to keep her promises. The only feasible way seemed to be at Austria's expense, and, with her usual methods of *Realpolitik*, Germany proceeded to press Austria into making territorial concessions to the backward ally. The Empire was ready to cede almost the whole of the Italian-speaking border regions. The offer met virtually all of Italy's de-



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A Mountain Stronghold in the Tyrol

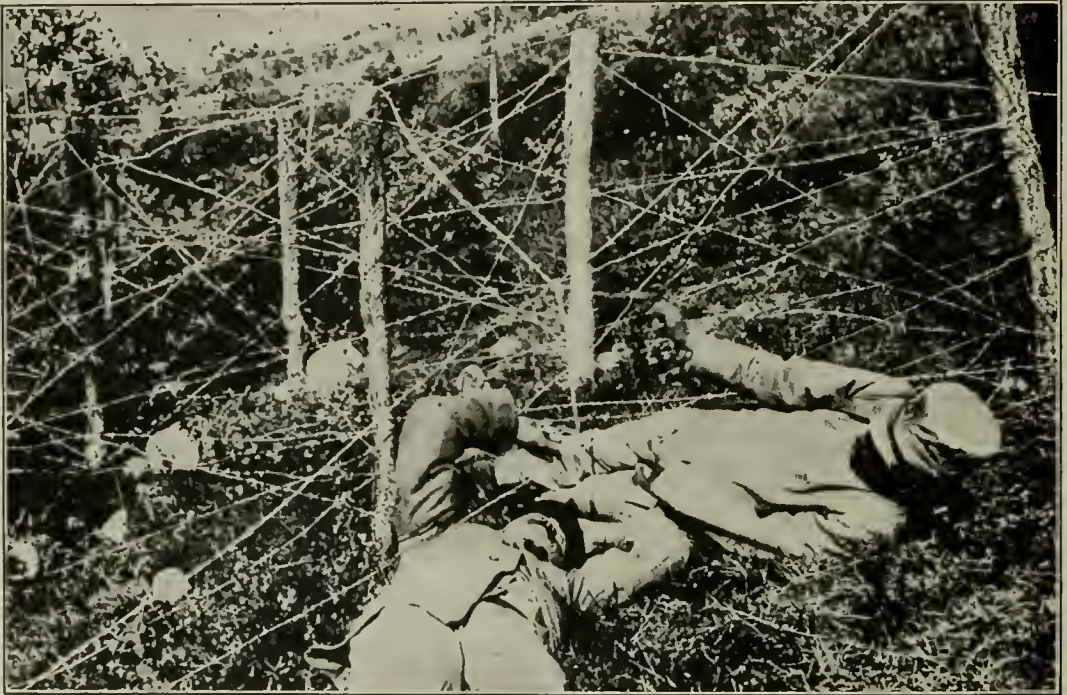
Austrian soldiers occupying a line of rifle pits constructed in the mouth of a mountain cave. The rock overhangs the concrete fortification. Many such strongholds along the Austro-Italian border were constructed before the war began, and Italy had difficulty in reducing them. Most of the fighting between the Austrians and Italians was done in the mountains at great altitudes.

mands. The main points of friction were Trieste and Dalmatia, upon which the militant party in Italy insisted. After many weeks of negotiation, the rupture, so long ex-

pected, took place. Italy denounced the Triple Alliance and on May 30, 1915, declared war on Austria-Hungary. The new foe did not seriously frighten the Austrians. They were

conscious of the easily defensible nature of their southwestern frontier. Far from increasing the gloom prevailing in the Empire, the entrance of Italy into the war did more than anything else to solidify patriotic feeling and rouse Austria to fresh exertions. The whole Empire quivered with furious wrath and scornful contempt for the "traitor" nation. In Vienna, Prague, Budapest, and other large cities, patriotic crowds surged in the streets

most malignant foe—that has for decades been Italy's policy. . . . Italy dares the war, not so much for territorial aggrandizement as for the realization of the aim she pursued in peace as well with all the means at her command—to hurl Austria from her position as a great Power. . . . Against this design, however, the whole Empire will rise to defend itself as one man. Austrian blood is not easily stirred, but now, when we are threatened by



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Dead Italians in Front of an Austrian Trench

These two Allied soldiers were killed by a shell while trying to cut the wire entanglements in front of an advanced enemy position.

shouting: "Down with the traitors!" The aged Emperor issued a proclamation in which he lashed this "perfidy whose like history does not know." The fierce hatred and indignation which swept the country can be judged by these remarks in the *Oesterreichische Rundschau*: "If war be indeed only a continuation of political policy with different means, then Italy can point to the fact that, free from all scruples of political faith and morality, she has consistently pursued a course in the World War which she followed in peace for many years. To be at once Austria's ally and her

cowardly brigands with a dagger thrust in the back, now will our wrath rise to a mighty flame, and all Austria echo the cry, 'Down with the traitors!' Now we know where to find our most malignant foe, who wore the mask of friendship, and when she had grown great by our favor and that of Germany, turned out to be an accomplice of our enemies. No Austrian will ever forgive this, no Hungarian will ever forget it. Revenge for a breach of faith unexampled in history—that will continue to be the watchword. And we shall not rest, nor our children, nor our chil-

dren's children, if it be necessary, until a people devoid of all political and moral loyalty shall have paid a heavy penalty for the crime committed against our sovereign and our country!" This indignation was intensely felt in Hungary and in the Slavic parts of the Empire.

THE TURNING OF THE TIDE

The Italian declaration of war proved to be for Austria the traditional darkest hour before the dawn. A fortnight later began the great Austro-German drive against the Russian armies. This mighty sweep of forces never slackened until the Russian armies were hurled out of Galicia and all of Russian Poland lay in the grasp of the Central Powers. The Austrians, elated by the high feeling of conquests, began discussing the problems of the morrow. But the price of victory as well as of defeat was terrible. The shortage of labor in the Empire was so acute that women and children were put to work, particularly in agricultural pursuits, in order to keep the industrial machine behind the armies moving. The casualties were enormous. In the first twelve months of the war Austria-Hungary lost between 2,000,000 and 2,500,000 men, including 600,000 prisoners. As a result of these appalling losses, the Empire was obliged to enroll in the Army men above and below the ordinary age limits of military service. Boys of 18 and men between 42 and 50 were snatched away from productive labor. Those who had been rejected as physically unfit were reexamined and many of them drafted into the ranks.

PRELUDES TO PEACE

In the greater part of the Empire parliamentary life had ceased to exist. The National Parliament of Hungary was open, and important debates took place, but the Reichsrath of Austria and all the provincial diets were closed. This was a sure sign of weakness and dissension in the Empire. There was good reason for the suspension of the provincial diets. The separatists and disloyalist forces were becoming too strong. The Prime Minister of Dalmatia fled to London to throw in his lot with Austria's enemies. The Bohemian Diet had to be closed because of the strong national movement among the

Czechs. And now, in 1916, even the Hungarian Parliament saw a political break which was indicative of the trend of events. Count Tisza was Premier of Hungary. In opposition to him was the Independence Party. This party aimed, not at complete separation from Austria, as its name might indicate, but at a fuller degree of Magyar autonomy. Although this party was only a minority of the representatives in the House of Commons—91 out of a total of 413—its influence was greatly enhanced by the power and fame of its leaders. These were Count Karolyi, Count Apponyi, and M. Julius Justh. From the very beginning of the war the party had abandoned all disputes about Hungary's relations with Austria and about various domestic affairs over which it disagreed with the Ministerialists. It gave its unqualified support to Count Tisza in his conduct of the war. During the absence of Count Karolyi, president of the party, from the capital in July, Counts Andrássy, Apponyi, and Zichy compromised with Tisza and pledged one member of their party to enter the "War Council," a temporary deliberative body. This meant that the Opposition would share the responsibility of the war and would thus cut off its own power to criticize.

When Karolyi returned, however, he was infuriated by the news of the surrender, a surrender made without even consulting him as the official head of the party. He immediately announced that he severed his relations completely with the other leaders of the Independence Party and formed a party of his own—the "Independence and 1848 Party," in reference to the revolution of 1848. He also announced that he was patriotic and would defend Hungary as far as lay in his power, but that he would under no circumstances surrender his right to criticize the conduct of the war. The new party drew up a program in which it proposed to influence the Hungarian Parliament to modify the war aims of Hungary and to bring pressure to bear on Austria and Germany to modify the war aims of the Central Powers. The new aims were to be based upon a renunciation by all belligerents of all annexations and indemnities. This was an unusual movement in the Empire. Almost all groups desired great territorial changes in the east. Just as radical under the circumstances was the plea which Ka-

rolyi's party made for a league of nations after the war. Even more violent and drastic, however, were the demands of the small group of Socialists, which coincided with the demands of minority Socialists in all countries: an immediate peace by negotiation. On October 21st, Dr. Friedrich Adler, a violent Socialist, editor of *Der Kampf* and son of the party leader, shot and killed the Austrian Premier, Count Carl Stürgkh. Adler gave

the general temper of the country. More than ever was Austria-Hungary determined to fight the war through to a victorious finish. The wave of optimism which swept the country with the conquests of Poland and Galicia gave way to dark pessimism toward the end of 1915 and at the beginning of 1916. The blockade of the Allies had hit the Central Empires severely, and Austria was suffering acutely from the shortage of food. Vienna,



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The Austrian Naval Base

A scene at Pola, on the Adriatic Sea, showing the Admiralty building in the background.

himself over to the police, and at his trial he delivered a long speech in which he said that he deliberately committed the political murder in order to stir up a discussion of the conduct of the war and the immediate negotiations for peace. Needless to say he accomplished little more than to have himself thrown into jail.

THE DESPERATE WILL TO WIN

But these sporadic attempts at a rational conclusion of the war had little effect on

the light-hearted city of pleasure, was now a Spartan camp. Food prices were enormous. Meatless days, bread-cards, and the other restrictions of starvation were bringing the war home sharply to the people. The streets of the once gay capital were filled with figures in gray uniforms—recruits ready to march off, invalids, wounded, sick men with bandages, German soldiers, ladies of the Red Cross; all filled the streets. Long queues stood in front of the bakeries. Barracks and hospitals were everywhere. Women were busy running 'buses and cars, cleaning streets and windows.

All things showed the grim determination of the Empire to fight it out. The grimness of the situation was increased by the Russian counter-drive which began in June, 1916, and the sudden attack by Rumania in September.

THE RUMANIAN INVASION

This attack naturally brought up the question of the three million Rumanians of Transylvania and eastern Hungary. The persistent attempts of the Hungarian Government to "Magyarize" these people had created much bad blood. The majority of the Hungarian Rumanians undoubtedly desired annexation to the neighboring kingdom of Rumania. At the same time, this secessionist feeling seems to have been of a passive character. There was rarely any militant disloyalty. It was also partially counteracted by the traditional attachment to the Hapsburg dynasty and by a deep-seated fear of Russia. Many Rumanians felt that they formed the eastern link in the German-Magyar-Ruman race dyke which sundered the two halves of the Slav ocean. They dreaded lest a Russian victory might mean the drowning of all three races beneath the Pan-Slav waves. As a result the invading Rumanian armies were received passively by their brethren in Transylvania. As for Hungary, the Opposition was electrified into resistance. As Premier Tisza opened the session of Parliament on September 5th, he was interrupted by shouts of derision from the extreme left. "You allow yourself to be fooled by Rumania!" "You don't belong in the minister's chair!" "We have no use for a helpless government!" "Why was Transylvania not fortified?" "You are wrecking the country!"—these and similar exclamations were hurled at the head of the Premier. Count Tisza explained, when the tumult had subsided, that Rumania had fooled not only him but the diplomatic and military circles of Germany and Austria and Bulgaria. He regretted that thousands of people along the border were suffering from the sudden raids of the Rumanians, and he "hoped to God that Rumania would meet her just fate." In a short while the invaders were actually expelled and Rumania itself overrun by German and Austrian troops. This did much to dispel the gloom which had fallen on the Empire during

the summer of 1916, and to restore popular confidence in victory.

THE KING IS DEAD! LONG LIVE THE KING!

In November, 1916, the aged Emperor Francis Joseph died at Schönbrunn. His death produced no great effect on the public. It had been expected for a long time. The new Emperor, Charles, possessed some energy and strength of character. He immediately asserted his authority and soon his influence was felt. The very first act of the new ruler was significant of the forces which he represented. He wanted a "just peace" as soon as possible. On December 12th the Central Powers, at the personal solicitation of Emperor Charles, proposed peace negotiations. The next thing Charles did was to oust the reactionary and chauvinistic cabinet and to appoint a new one, containing Clam-Martinicz as Premier and Count Czernin as Minister of Foreign Affairs, both of whom were Czechs. The new Emperor's policy was markedly conciliatory both in foreign and domestic affairs. At home he tried to work with the maze of nationalities by giving each one an honorable and appropriate share in the conduct of the Dual Monarchy. In foreign affairs, far from being influenced by race hatred, he hoped to bring about peace and amity among the nations, and associated himself informally with the movement for a compromise initiated by the Catholic Party of Germany.

PEACE AND REVOLUTION

From this time on the two great movements in the tottering empire of the Hapsburgs were the movement for immediate peace and the movement for a more democratic form of government. The Emperor himself constantly offered the Allies peace parleys. The Hungarian Socialists, returning from Stockholm where various Socialist groups from the belligerent countries were holding conferences, demanded an immediate peace on a basis of no annexations, no indemnities, and complete restoration of occupied territories. At the same time the Emperor, hearing the distant rumble of an oncoming storm of revolution, hastened to make reforms to allay the restless people. The relentless Count Tisza was thrown out

of office as Premier of Hungary, although officially he resigned, and the more liberal Dr. Wekerle took his place. The Russian Revolution threw a red glare over the Empire, and by its light new forces began to see their way to peace and revolution. These movements were accelerated by conditions in the cities. Millions were feeding on horseflesh and donkey meat. War bread was getting worse and worse in quality and higher and higher in price. Trial by jury was suspended. The



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An Italian Shelter in the Alps

Dug in the side of a mountain with connecting tunnels. Observe the telephone wires at the right connecting the various trenches.

people of Austria and Hungary were starving. The cry for peace grew louder and louder. In July of 1917 the German and Bohemian members of the Reichsrath passed a resolution demanding the immediate end of the war. In the same month Count Czernin announced that Austria would accept an "honorable peace." The National Council of Austrian Women appealed to the women of the world to effect peace. At the end of 1917 and the early part of 1918 this movement was taken advantage of by Germany in inaugurating the Brest-Litovsk peace with Russia, which is mentioned elsewhere in this volume.

THE REVOLT OF THE WORKERS

At this crisis, when the Empire was tottering on the edge of a precipice, when the population was starving and clamoring for peace, the workers tried to take matters into their own hands. Strikes broke out in Austria and Hungary which frankly aimed at coercing the government into making peace. In Vienna hunger-marches were organized, shops looted, and an attempt was even made to enter the imperial palace, albeit the crowds were driven back by the guards. The brutal bullying of Russia by the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk, the liberal terms proposed by President Wilson in his various speeches, and the never-ending hunger roused the workers to a pitch of frenzy. In January, 1918, an issue of the *Vossische Zeitung* thus describes the strike situation: "Vienna and all lower Austria has been at a standstill for three days. The strike began in one factory of the Daimler Motor Works in Wiener Neustadt, where a single workman named Schnefelder induced a couple of hundred comrades to strike. Suddenly the movement passed from factory to factory, from place to place, seizing hold of Vienna and the provinces. Great munition works, foundries, blast furnaces in Vienna stood inactive. On Thursday last hundreds of thousands participated in gigantic meetings, came out into the great roads from factories without songs and without banners, only threatening and demanding peace. Shopkeepers and traders attached themselves to the movement; tailors, shoemakers, clothing workshops, fashionable firms closed their stores." The *Zeitung* blamed the strike movement on the Maximalists of the Empire, who through their organ *Der Kampf* and with their martyr Friedrich Adler had means of propaganda, while through their leader Otto Bauer, a prisoner in Russia, they kept in touch with the Bolsheviks. So powerful did the Maximalists become that their leaders conferred with the Ministry on the problems of peace and bread. And when these negotiations brought forth meager results Vienna and Budapest saw the organization of Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, in imitation of the Russian bodies. The strikes, originally begun by the masses themselves in protest against the reduction of the flour ration, were soon in the

hands of the Socialists, who utilized them to put forward their political demands. As it was, the entire Empire was trembling with the shock of the crisis. The radicals were outspoken. "The government," said the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, "cannot master the difficulties and runs away from them. . . . It

of the Dual Monarchy. This was a master-stroke of diplomacy which cost Czernin his post of Foreign Minister and which threw the Emperor into the arms of Germany. "Clemenceau's accusations against me," wrote the unhappy Charles to the Kaiser, "are so low that I have no intention longer to discuss this



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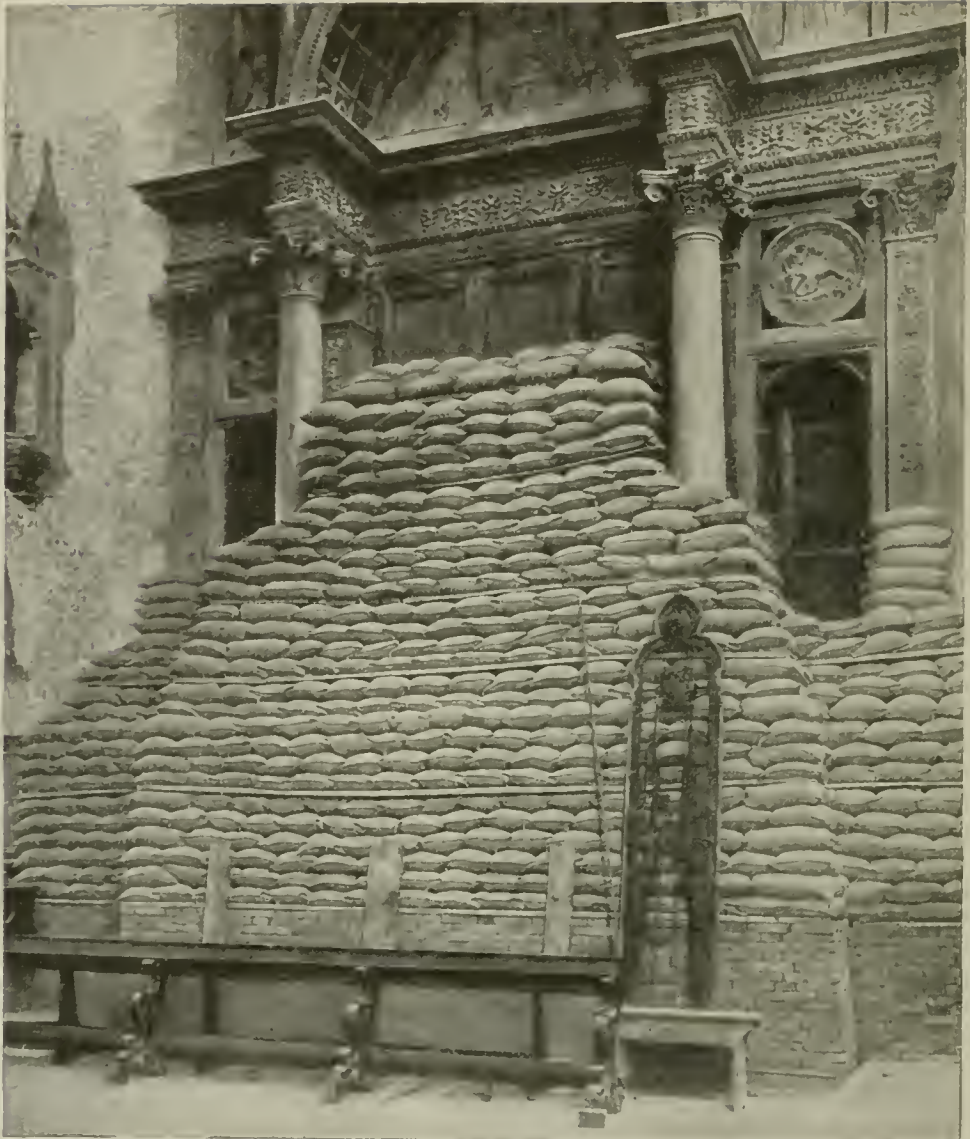
A Bird's-eye View of Fiume

will learn sooner than is imaginable that even in Austria the days of absolutism are past."

THE KAISER'S VASSAL

Throughout the year 1918 these movements for peace and revolution continued. One of the chief leaders in the first of these continued to be the Emperor Charles; but he was soon forced to give up this rôle. Count Czernin in a powerful speech advocating peace, accused France of initiating the peace proposals of 1917. Clemenceau immediately produced a letter written by Charles to Prince Sixtus of Bourbon asking him to intervene on behalf

affair with France. My cannon in the West is our last reply." A new alliance was cemented between Austria, Hungary, and Germany which left the latter complete master of the situation. The Dual Monarchy, crumbling to pieces over the head of the last of the Hapsburgs, placed itself in the hands of Germany to avert catastrophe. But that catastrophe was rapidly approaching. Internal troubles were shaking the Empire. The people were convulsed by the revelations regarding the Emperor's attempt to secure a separate peace with France, as shown by the Sixtus letter. The serious food riots in Vienna and the starvation in Bohemia once



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How Venice Guarded Her Art Treasures from Austrian Aviators

Bricks and sand-bags were piled over one of the monuments in the Church of Santi Giovanni e Paolo (St. John and St. Paul).

more drove the masses to cry for peace. In Hungary the entire ministry quit in a dispute over a question of suffrage. The workers were striking again and paralyzing the whole country. The one hope for the Hapsburgs was a German victory. The future of the house of Hapsburg now, by the irony of fate, depended on the victory of its once bitter enemy, the house of Hohenzollern.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE EMPIRE

But this victory was nowhere in sight. The Austrians were dejected. Disorder continued in Vienna and Budapest. A Czech revolt was shaking Bohemia. In Vienna mobs were rioting, looting bakeries, fighting the cavalry which had been sent out to suppress them. The Socialists and the workers' councils were shout-

ing for an immediate peace before disaster overtook them all. At the same time the food situation became so bad that starvation was rampant throughout the kingdoms. The result of hunger in Austria was the same as that in Russia. If the masses could not get peace and bread with victory, they prayed for peace and bread through defeat. The peril of civil war among Germans, Magyars, Czechs, Poles, Slavs—a dark mass of contending and conflicting races—loomed before the frightened Charles. As he felt his ancient throne tottering under him, he made frenzied appeals to the Kaiser. To his erstwhile en-

emy, King Ferdinand of Rumania, he wrote: "This is the time when kings must stick together." Again he tried to save himself by appealing to the Allies for a separate peace. Again he threw himself at the feet of Germany begging for economic relief for his prostrate provinces. And so the negotiations with friend and foe went on until the military débâcle on the Western front hurled the Central Powers into the abyss of defeat, when the whole fragile structure of the Empire went to smash and sent the last of the illustrious Hapsburgs slinking into the obscurity of a Swiss exile.

GERMAN AUSTRIA IN CHAOS

The Hungry Viennese Wish to Join Germany, but Abandon the Union to Secure Food for Themselves

THE LAST OF THE HAPSBURGS

BY October, 1918, Austria's efforts to obtain peace became frantic. Day after day the Socialist members of the House of Deputies would create an uproar demanding an immediate settlement on the basis of Wilson's Fourteen Points. The Socialist movement was spreading like wildfire. In the early days of the month the *Tageblatt* wrote: "We are half way to a revolution." Exhaustion and hunger were fast disrupting the empire. The Emperor saw the swiftly approaching catastrophe, but thought it could still be averted. He bombarded Washington with notes pleading with the American President for an armistice. Then came overwhelming defeat of the Austrian Army on the Piave. The end could no longer be postponed. Austria surrendered to the victorious Allies, and the bewildered Emperor turned to save his crumbling realms. Down to the very end he and his circle could not believe that the dynasty was really going to fall. Everything was done to hold together the collapsing fragments. Numerous cabinets were appointed, none of which lasted more than a day or two. The Socialist and Republican forces were now actively wielding the mighty weapon of revo-

lution. Charles was rushing frantically from Budapest to Vienna. In both cities the flames of revolt were leaping high. At 2 o'clock in the morning of October 20th the Emperor was awakened by an urgent telephone message from the Military Governor of Budapest. Standing shivering in his night clothes with the receiver at his ear, the unhappy monarch heard: "Your Majesty, the situation in Budapest is exceedingly grave. The public buildings have been occupied by the revolutionaries and the soldiers refuse to obey orders. A few are faithful, and nothing but force applied at once can save the situation. I want your Majesty's authority to order the soldiers who remain true to shoot the revolutionary ringleaders. If you don't, all is lost." The indecisive monarch turned trembling to Count Hunyadi, the Royal Chamberlain. "What am I to do?" Then without waiting for a reply he telephoned back: "No, don't shoot. Wait." He went back to bed. Half an hour later he changed his mind, ran back to the telephone with intentions to order the Military Governor to shoot the revolutionary leaders. The telephone operator refused to put through the call. Count Hunyadi seized the transmitter and ordered the girl in the King's name to make the connection to Budapest. "We

take our orders," came the curt reply, "from the Hungarian National Council and not from Kings or their servants." The reign of the Hapsburgs was ended.

THE AUSTRIAN REPUBLIC

From this time forward the history of Austria is separate and distinct from that of Hungary and the rest of the old Hapsburg Empire. While the other divisions were

day the new government ~~was~~ forced to make reductions in the allowance of gas and electric light. Theaters, moving picture houses, and even hospitals were closed for lack of heating and lighting facilities. No really violent revolution had taken place in Vienna as had taken place in Hungary. The capital was left to decide its own destiny by a monarch fleeing before the doom ordained in Budapest. But the Austrian capital, no less than that of the Magyars, was flooded with Bolshevik agents



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Italian Soldiers on Guard

An official Italian photograph showing an Italian trooper on the alert high up in the snow-capped mountains of the Austro-Italian frontier.

wrangling with the problems created by the new situation, Austria was in the hands of Republican forces headed by the Socialist leader, Dr. Otto Bauer. On November 13, 1918, the National Assembly proclaimed Austria a formal part of the German Republic. But this was a mere documentary comment on a situation which was tragic in its real aspects. Austria was cracking under the strain of revolution and the breakdown of the Empire. Vienna, once the most brilliant capital in Europe, was now a spectral city. It was in a state of siege and dying of starvation. Every

preaching the gospel of the proletarian dictatorship. Dr. Bauer and the Socialists were working to unite Austria with Socialist Germany and, eventually, to unite all the parts of the former empire under the red flag. Despite the proclamation of the National Assembly, union with Germany continued to be one of the great contested issues of the new republic. The German Nationalists and the Social Democrats were fighting tooth and nail for union with the Socialist Germany of Ebert; while the Christian Socialists and the middle classes were fighting for an independent state.

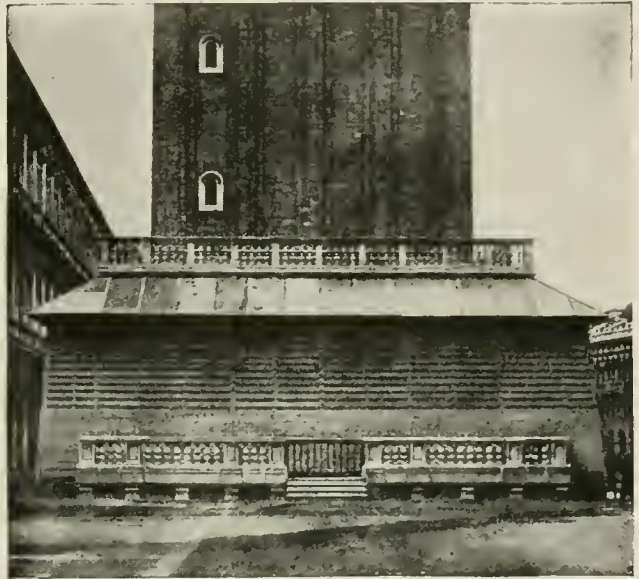
STARVING VIENNA AND SOCIALIST SUCCESS

Amidst the chaos of political reconstruction, hunger and unemployment continued to spread a dark veil of tragedy over the capital. Over 120,000 people were idle in this one city. Food was scarce. Prices were incredibly high. The government was disorganized. The Emperor had left but had not officially abdicated. All hearts waited eagerly for the election of the Constituent Assembly which would bring some order into the disrupted capital and would relieve the hunger of the population. Amidst such conditions it is not surprising that the masses were driven by desperation to turn to the Socialists. A vast majority of the ballots went to the Socialist candidates. On February 18, 1919, two days after the elections, over fifteen thousand people, soldiers and civilians, held a monster demonstration in the streets of the city to celebrate the success of the Socialists. They marched under the red flag and to the strains of the "Marseillaise" to the House of Parliament, where they were addressed by prominent Socialists. Herr Seitz exclaimed that the elections showed the masses were in favor of Socialism and union with Germany. Dr. Deutsch, the Under-secretary of State for War, declared that Emperor Charles must now be compelled formally and finally to abdicate. The immediate aim of the people at the beginning of their work for a Socialist Republic was the socialization of industry and rural economy. The new government, it was announced some time later, was headed by Dr. Renner as Chancellor and Otto Bauer as Minister of Foreign Affairs. This new government immediately proclaimed a policy of conciliation based on Wilson's Fourteen Points and the socialization of industry by the state on a basis opposing Bolshevism. To clear the way for a reconstruction of Austria the new government notified the ex-Emperor that he must leave the country. Under British protection Charles and his wife and children left Vienna secretly on the night of March 23d. The next day

he arrived at a château in Switzerland where he took up his residence.

THE BOLSHEVIK EARTHQUAKE

As preludes to rebuilding Austria and creating a new state out of its ruins, two vital problems had to be settled. The most immediate of these was a direct echo of the Bolshevik revolution in Hungary. Under normal conditions no doctrine could appeal less to Austria than that of the extreme Socialists.



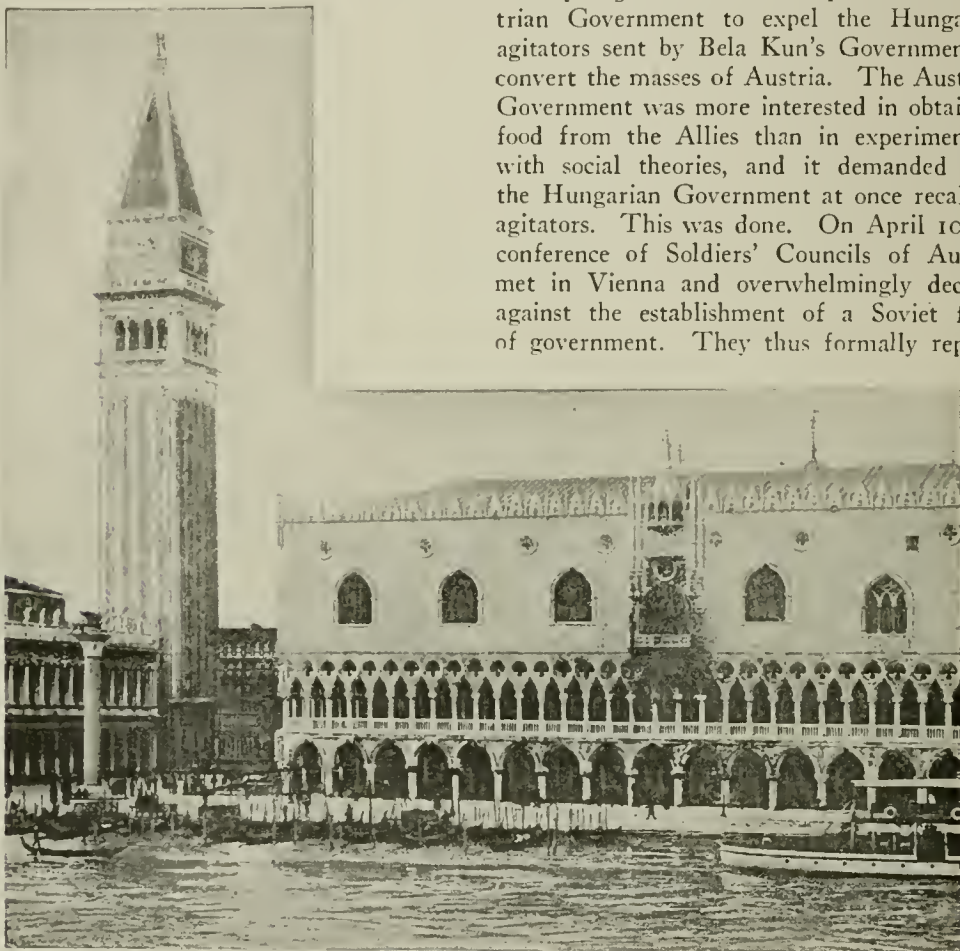
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Foot of the Campanile in Venice, with Wooden Frame Covering the Loggia of Sansovino

The majority of the Austrian population consisted of landholders and burghers much averse to communist ideals. But small groups, notably the left wing of the Social Democrats, the International Social Revolutionaries, and the International Communists, were working hard to import Leninism into Austria. At first their efforts were wasted. But the sudden success of the Bolsheviks in Hungary made the doctrines more seductive to the hungry and uncertain Austrians. The starvation of the middle and lower classes was unendurable. The markets were all bare. There was no meat, no eggs, no fat. The people were ripe for extremist doctrines, and, as usual, the Bolshevik propagandist was on hand to stir

up the smouldering flames of revolt. Extremist meetings fomented by Hungarian agitators were attended by huge multitudes. Speakers harped upon the hunger conditions, upon the injustice of neighboring states in seizing territory inhabited by populations predominantly German. The unsettlement of

tion upon us which is bound to render impossible the reconstruction of our economic life and to make us serfs. We should consider this an excuse for a Bolshevik development in Austria." The situation was so grave that the Entente mission in Vienna decided to intervene to save the republic from Bolshevism. On April 5th the mission requested the Austrian Government to expel the Hungarian agitators sent by Bela Kun's Government to convert the masses of Austria. The Austrian Government was more interested in obtaining food from the Allies than in experimenting with social theories, and it demanded that the Hungarian Government at once recall its agitators. This was done. On April 10th a conference of Soldiers' Councils of Austria met in Vienna and overwhelmingly decided against the establishment of a Soviet form of government. They thus formally repudi-



The Campanile of St. Mark's and the Palace of the Doges in Peace-Time

Austria was further increased by a railway strike. At the same time the rumors that the Paris Peace Conference was thinking of imposing a heavy fine upon Austria for her sins in the war created serious alarm in the new republic. "The social danger," said the Austrian Minister of Finance, "is not the only danger confronting Austria. A new danger is threatening, because Paris has evidently conceived the idea of imposing a war contribu-

ated Bolshevism and cleared their country of suspicion.

THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLT OF APRIL

But this formal repudiation of extremist teachings did not alleviate the horrible suffering of the masses, and this suffering was excellent material for agitators to work with. The thousands and thousands of unemployed

in Vienna were swaying restlessly like a stormy ocean. Finally the climax came. On April 17th a huge mob of unemployed gathered in front of the Parliament building. Agitators made violent addresses and incited the mob to demand ample daily support from the state. Chancellor Renner came out and promised to consider these demands next week. The mob yelled its dissatisfaction. Some began to shoot at the police. Others set fire to the Parliament building. The People's Guard was summoned and with their help the fire was put out and the mob dispersed. Just before dark crowds gathered again at the foot of the Pallas Statue, which was draped with red bunting. A new attempt was made to force the doors of the Parliament building. Machine guns cleared the streets for a few minutes, but the crowds returned again and again. All night long crowds wandered around the city listening to agitators. The whole atmosphere was charged with the electricity of revolution. The next day, as the disorder increased, the Soldiers' Councils seized control of the city. Vienna became quiet. Steps were at once taken to communize property. Bolshevism seemed to have conquered. At this juncture the Entente mission once more stepped in to rescue Austria from the ultra-red doctrines. The Renner Government was lax, and needed to be electrified into action. And the commission did the electrifying by threatening to withdraw the supply of food. At once the government became active. It pleaded with the communists: If you do not stop your activities you will ruin Austria. But their final resort was the People's Guard (the *Volkswehr*) which, although it sympathized with the communists, thought that the time was not yet ripe for Bolshevism. With the aid of these soldiers, the Renner Government seized the city once more, put down all dangerous outcroppings of Bolshevism, and continued to run Austria on the proposed lines of State socialism. But again this suppression of Bolshevism did not alleviate conditions. Vienna was still without milk, without sugar, without butter, without salt. There was very little meat and bread, and what there was of them was very bad. Over 2,000,000 people were literally starving. The political situation was still chaotic, and a victorious Entente was ready

to exact just retribution for the crime of the Hapsburgs.

AUSTRIA AND THE PEACE CONFERENCE

This last consideration was the greatest problem confronting Austria after the suppression of the Bolshevik uprising. The peace delegation which went to plead the cause of the new republic before the Peace Conference was headed by the Chancellor himself. Dr. Renner was very conciliatory. None of the arrogance which marked the attitude of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, head of the German delegation, was traceable in the suave Dr. Renner. He did not seek to condone or extenuate the guilt of Austria for "the horrible crime of 1914." At the same time he pleaded that the full weight of the deserved punishment should not fall on the little republic, all that was left of the once mighty empire of Austria. He begged that it should be regarded as only one of the eight new republics into which the old monarchy had fallen. Dr. Renner's pleading appeared to make a most favorable impression on the Big Four. But the kind attitude of the great statesmen did not impair their sense of justice. The terms handed to Austria in the early part of June were very stringent. They thoroughly dismembered the former Austrian territory and left the State a small country of some 30,000 square miles, with a population of about 6,000,000. German Austria was required to recognize the independence of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the Serbo-Croat-Slovene State, and to cede other territories previously in union with her. Austria, by the terms handed to her, agreed to accept the League of Nations covenant and the labor charter, renounce all her extra-European rights, demobilize her naval and aerial forces, admit the right of trial by the Allied and Associated Powers of the guilty, and to accept detailed provisions as to her future economic relations. Austria was also forbidden to consummate her proposed union with Germany.

DISCONSOLATE AUSTRIA

Of no state can it be more truly said "thus passes the glory of the world." From her high and proud station Austria has truly

fallen low. The terms of the peace treaty created a profound sensation of bitterness and humiliation among all classes of Austrians. The government pronounced the terms unacceptable. The newspapers boldly denounced the terms. They had not prepared the public for such losses, and had led it to expect more leniency than Germany. Talk of Bolshevism once more ran wildly through Vienna. The *Arbeiter Zeitung* wrote: "All has been taken from us without respect to President Wilson's Fourteen Points." The director of the Anglo-Hungarian Bank said: "The only thing for the Austrian people to say is: 'We might as well join with Germany, as we are companions in misfortune. We have nothing to lose by doing so.'" Austria mourned over the peace terms by raising black flags. The desire to join Germany became intensified a thousandfold. Dr. Karl Seitz, President of the Republic of Austria,

expressed the common view of his people when he said: "I wish to say in the most solemn manner that Austria is doomed to die unless she is permitted to join Germany. We cannot live alone." At the moment of writing the peace terms were still under consideration. Austria was in a political chaos. Bolshevik influences were streaming in from Russia and from Hungary. The People's Guard, communistically inclined, was waiting for an opportunity when, no longer dependent upon the bounty of the Entente for food, it could effect a revolution for the establishment of more extreme dogmas. Meantime the Entente was feeding a starving Vienna, silent, hungry, ragged, and too grateful for the kindness of the Allies to think of Bolshevism. Upon the final form of the peace terms depended the safety of the present moderate Socialist régime. Whatever the future might be, the days of Austrian greatness were apparently gone.

BOLSHEVIKI CONTROL HUNGARY

After the Fall of the Hapsburgs the Magyar State Passes into the Hands of Bela Kun's Revolutionaries

THE BLOODLESS REVOLUTION IN ONE NIGHT

THE revolution which smashed the Hapsburg Empire in the last week of October, 1918, began in the capital of Hungary. We have already seen how, when the Emperor attempted to get in touch with Budapest, the telephone operator told him she would not put the call through, and that she took orders only from the National Council. What had happened? Over night, practically, Hungary was transmuted as if by magic from an imperial realm into a people's republic, and that with almost no bloodshed. It was the troops of the Budapest garrison which turned the scales. They were the only ones who could suppress a revolt. Instead, they adhered to the revolutionists. The National Council was originally a society in which the Karolyi party, the Social Democrats and the bourgeois radicals united for common action. As the forces of the Empire were crushed by Italian troops

on the Piave and the whole flimsy structure of the Hapsburg realms came tumbling to the earth, the National Council turned out to be the only organized power in the state. Under its direction the popular movement for an independent republic became more and more impetuous, more and more widespread. In the last week of October the troops and officers of the Budapest garrison formed a Soldiers' Council which joined the National Council. The soldiers went about the streets spreading the doctrines of the new movement. They invited officers and men to remove the rosettes from their head-dress and to substitute the tricolored cockades. They also induced officers and men to gather in groups and swear allegiance to the National Council. Late in the evening of October 30th these revolutionary troops were directed by members of the National Council to occupy the Central Post Office and the Telephone Central. This was immediately done, without resistance. The

troops and officers all adhered to the National Council, and the revolution was won. Early next morning the entire capital was in the hands of the Council. Flags fluttered from the houses. Motor cars loaded with officers and soldiers cheering and shouting, announced the triumph of the people. Groups of civilians marched up and down the streets singing pa-

triotic songs. At ten o'clock it was announced that Count Karolyi had been named Premier by the King. A few weeks later the King was no more than a private citizen, and Hungary was a people's republic, formally proclaimed as such on November 17th.



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The Overthrow of the Hungarian Monarchy

Johan Hook, President of the Hungarian National Council, addressed a crowd in front of the Parliament building shortly after the last meeting of the aristocrats early in 1919. The sign reads: "This forenoon we will proclaim Michael Karolyi president of the Hungarian Republic."

triotic songs. At ten o'clock it was announced that Count Karolyi had been named Premier by the King. A few weeks later the King was no more than a private citizen, and Hungary was a people's republic, formally proclaimed as such on November 17th.

THE TURMOIL OF RACES AND FACTIONS

The problems of the new republic were overwhelming and chaotic. After the revolu-

tion the Hungarians signed an armistice with General Franchet d'Esperey, the Allied Generalissimo in the Balkans. A line of demarkation was drawn and the troops were obliged to disarm and to retire from all fronts. It was promised that American, English and French troops would occupy the frontiers. Instead, all the nationalities which had formerly suf-

ferred from Magyar tyranny now took their revenge. Jugoslavs, Rumanians, Ruthenians, and Czechoslovaks laid claim to large parts of Hungary and invaded that unhappy country to take that which they claimed. Budapest became a frontier town. The Hungarians could not even offer resistance to the invaders, since by the terms of the armistice they had been forced to disarm. Everywhere the conquerors took control. Budapest was cut off from all places of economic value. In the

capital there was no coal, and factories were stopped. The houses were cold with the winter frost. The streets were dark, and the shops were shut at sundown. Under such conditions it is no wonder that Bolshevik doctrines, poured into the country by Russian agitators, should find ready hearers among the starving and freezing masses. War broke out in a political way between the Karolyi Government and the Ironworkers' Party, controlled by a Socialist. Dr. Bela Kun was appealing to the unemployed to seize the power of government and establish a Bolshevik state. Budapest was trembling with the clash of social forces like a volcano about to burst out.

THE RIOTS OF NEW YEAR'S EVE

The year 1919 was ushered in by riot and murder in the streets of Budapest. A regiment of infantry mutinied in their barracks, crying out for a communist state. To their aid came rushing students and soldiers drunk with Bolshevism. Shots were fired through the barrack windows. The mob swelled, seized cobblestones ripped up from the streets, and hurled them in blind frenzy. In a number of places throughout the city similar disturbances took place. Dr. Bela Kun toured the city inciting the soldiers to riot, and about 2,000 responded to his call. During the evening many of these marched on the military prison and demanded the release of all military prisoners. Among these was Bela Kun himself, but he was a prisoner for only two hours, when he managed to escape. Again he appealed to the hungry, the cold, the unemployed, those who had suffered most keenly from the war; and his following grew larger and larger. With money supplied by the Bolshevik Government of Russia he bought up thousands of troops. The New Year's uprising was suppressed by the authorities, but Bolshevism was spreading like wildfire throughout the country. The government was powerless. The doctrines were intoxicating even the peasants, who began to swoop down upon aristocratic country seats which they would loot. Even the castle of Count Andrássy, once a popular leader, did not escape. In Budapest itself a Workmen's Council was assuming tremendous powers. By the second week of January they were able to force Karolyi to appoint two Socialists as Min-

isters of War and of the Interior, respectively. As a result all the moderate members of the cabinet resigned and Karolyi had to form a new government.

THE FEBRUARY REVOLT

But a mere cabinet change brought no relief to the starving and freezing masses. Invading troops were still marauding the country. The soldiers of the German Field Marshal von Mackensen were straggling home through Budapest, and increasing the chaos already darkening that unhappy city. And all the time the Communists were appealing to the primitive passions of the terrified and helpless people. In the middle of February another Bolshevik revolt broke out. Violence shook the whole capital. The insurgents stormed the offices of the Socialist newspaper *Nepzava*, and occupied the telegraph office and railway station. Immediately Count Karolyi called a meeting of the whole cabinet. The ministers sat far into the night, and finally decided to place the capital under martial law. The swiftness and decision with which the Karolyi Government acted succeeded in quelling this uprising, too. But it was soon apparent that the suppression of Bolshevism in Hungary was only a temporary thing. The agitation of the communists continued in all sorts of devious channels. The hunger became almost unbearable. And a new factor was added which made the fall of the Karolyi Government inevitable: the announced intention of the Allies to occupy Hungary.

THE PROTEST AGAINST THE ARMISTICE

As early as February 22, 1919, the Karolyi Government had protested against the terms of the armistice. The first cause for protest, in the eyes of the government, was the boundary which the Allies had set between Hungary and her neighbors—Rumania, Serbia, and Czechoslovakia. As to military occupation in general, the protest said, "The Hungarian Government cannot refrain from declaring that military occupation can have no other object than to assure the military superiority of the occupiers. Military occupation is but a transitory condition and should not be applied to transform by force the occu-

pation into a veritable annexation." But despite the protest the boundary difficulties were not adjusted, and the Allies proceeded to occupy Hungary to break the power of the rising Bolshevik movement. On March 22d, it was announced to the world that Allied troops had occupied the greater part of Hungary. On the same day it was announced that Karolyi had surrendered the reins of government to the Bolsheviki and that Hungary, like Rus-

Army is to be overcome. As Provisional President of the Hungarian People's Republic, I turn, as against the Paris Peace Conference, to the proletariat of the world for justice and support." The new government, under the guidance of Bela Kun, at once set to work to entrench the revolution in Hungary. Decrees were issued socializing large estates, mines, big industries, banks, and transport lines. Another proclamation hailed Lenin as leader of the in-



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Francis Joseph's Quay in Budapest

sia, had undergone a second and more radical revolution.

THE BOLSHEVIK TRIUMPH

The March revolution was accomplished without any resistance. Count Karolyi resigned himself before the inevitable as he saw it, and surrendered his power to the Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Councils, and in doing so issued the following manifesto: "The Entente Mission declared that it intended to regard the demarkation line as the political frontier. The aim of further occupation of the country is manifestly to make Hungary the jumping-off ground and the region of operations against the Russian Soviet Army which is fighting on our frontier. The land evacuated by us, however, is to be the pay of the Czech troops, by means of whom the Russian Soviet

ternational proletariat and announced Hungary's solidarity with the revolutionary movement. A dictatorship of the proletariat was established. The new government immediately took possession of the Correspondence Bureau, the official news agency, in order to control all further news. The dispatches coming from this source claimed that there were no disturbances and that no opposition was shown to the government. The Soviet Government occupied all music halls and theaters and arranged for revolutionary plays and speeches. Martial law was proclaimed. A fine of 5,000 crowns was fixed for selling alcoholic liquor and 10,000 crowns for drinking it. Titles of rank were abolished; church and state were separated; private property was abolished. It was, in all respects, a complete overturning of the old order of things, and caused consternation to conservatives in the West.

THE BOLSHEVIKI AND THE ALLIES

The thorough revolution in Hungary alarmed the statesmen at Paris. They had intended to use that country as a bulwark against the spread of Bolshevism from Russia, and here it was as much of a menace as Russia itself. Red agitators were swarming into Germany spreading their dangerous gospel among the masses who were not yet Spartacide. Other agitators were trying to spread the revolution to Dalmatia and from there to Italy. The Balkans and the Ukraine, Poland and German-Austria, in fact all the countries surrounding strategically placed Budapest, were in danger of being swamped by Bolshevism. The Allies in Paris had to act quickly. The French wanted to send an army of 50,000 at once to crush the Red Hungarian Army. But other counsels prevailed. The Conference decided to send General Jan Christian Smuts to Budapest to arrange for a new armistice and to come to some sort of understanding with the Communist Government. While Smuts was on his way, Allied troops occupied the line fixed by the Paris Conference. Smuts arrived in Budapest on April 5th and placed the following proposals before the Communist Government: The Hungarian Government to withdraw all troops west of a line which General Smuts outlined; that Rumanian troops be ordered not to advance beyond their present positions; that the territory between the line drawn by General Smuts and the Rumanian Army be neutral and be occupied by British, French, Italian, and, if possible, American troops; the Hungarian Government to accept the armistice terms of November, with the compensation of an immediate lifting of the blockade and the importation of necessities. Smuts also proposed to suggest to the Peace Conference that before it finally determined the political frontiers of Hungary it should invite the Hungarian Government to send representatives to Paris. Bela Kun, the Bolshevik Minister of Foreign Affairs, thanked Smuts for his civility but said that the terms proposed were unacceptable to the Hungarian Government. In return he proposed a different neutral zone; a complete raising of the blockade; a conference of all the parts of the former Hapsburg Empire to meet simultaneously with the Paris Confer-

ence; exchange of economic representatives between Hungary and foreign countries; and that "the Entente Powers immediately cease the barbarous persecutions to which every labor movement in the occupied regions is subjected." Smuts could not accept these terms. He returned to Paris to report that he found the Bolsheviks in strong control of Hungary and "as conciliatory as Bolshevik methods permit." But whatever chance of conciliation there was at that time was immediately spoiled by Bela Kun's announcement in triumphant tones that the Smuts Mission was tantamount to the recognition of the Soviets. This raised a storm of criticism in Paris. It was not the intention of the Conference to recognize the Soviets and they did not do so. The Smuts Mission was criticized for giving that erroneous impression.

THE RED WAR

The events from April to the time of writing all centered around the desperate efforts of the Communist Government to save their tottering régime from collapse. On three sides Hungary was attacked by enemy troops. The Rumanians, in conjunction with Yugoslav and Czechoslovak troops, hemmed in the chaotic republic and drove its demoralized Red Army back a hundred miles. In despair the Communist Government decided upon a war of defense of the revolution. This decision was enthusiastically accepted by the populace. Huge processions marched up and down the streets shouting against "the western bourgeoisie." The workers in the munition factories were told not to cease work for even one day but to keep on supplying the Red Army with bullets and shells. To gain the adherence of all groups religious freedom was proclaimed. All reserve officers and soldiers were ordered to join the Red Army at once. All private telephones in Budapest were suspended. At a huge meeting at which these decisions were made by the Soviets, the Commissary of Education cried, "The proletariat must ruthlessly use all means at its disposal." All trains were stopped. Conscription was resorted to. In short, the Bolshevik Government was desperately defending itself from being beaten down from its post of power, and to maintain the wedge it had driven into central Europe.



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OFFICINA DELL'ISTITUTO ITALIANO DI ARTI GRAFICHE - BERGAMO

Italian War Poster

BOLSHEVIST LOSSES

But this hasty and badly organized defense made little headway against the powerful onslaught of Rumanian, Yugoslav, and Czech troops. The Rumanian troops were fed by the Allies, and their morale was high. Bela Kun made frantic efforts to send troops against them. Labor regiments were mobilized and

marched through the streets of Budapest with rifles slung over their shoulders but without uniforms. But the Red Army was beaten so badly on several fronts that on May 1st Bela Kun offered the Rumanian and Yugoslav Governments concessions, saying that his government recognized "unreservedly the territorial claims which you put forward." The offers of the Hungarian Government were refused.

The Allied troops did not want the territory but the extinction of a Bolshevik Government that was a menace to the rest of Europe. They moved on Budapest and actually got to within forty miles of it when they were ordered by the Paris Conference to halt.

RED MAY DAY

May Day was celebrated in Budapest by an orgy of red. The Associated Press correspondent describes it thus: "Thousands of Red troops marched to red music through red-bannered streets. The sidewalks were crowded with men, women, and girls flaunting red ribbons. Street cars were red, automobiles were red, railway stations and lamp-posts were red. In squares and on street corners were huge red wooden stands on which was emblazoned the statement, 'This is the day of freedom and world brotherhood.' There also were numerous immense plaster casts of Lenin and Karl Marx, some of them twenty feet high. The red celebration continued all day and all night, and red electric lights added to the crimson hue after darkness fell. There were fiery speeches in different parts of the city by Bela Kun and other leaders of the Soviets. The total cost of this effort to make a red-letter day for Hungarian Communism was 12,000,-

000 crowns, taken from the banks of the country."

UNHAPPY HUNGARY

And so the situation stood at the time of writing. The Communist Government in Budapest, as in Russia, was fighting on all sides. External foes were victorious, but within the country a reign of terror helped to keep the Reds in power. Many persons accused of being counter-revolutionary were being executed by the Communists. An Allied Commission was on the way to Budapest to take advantage of the victory of Rumanian arms to bring the Bolshevik Government to terms. The situation was thus summed up by Count Julius Andrássy, former Foreign Minister of the Empire, in a statement issued on June 3d: "The only way left for us is Allied aid. It is useless to treat with the Communists. Every day's delay means greater ruin for us and loss for the whole world. It will be fifty years before we can undo the waste caused by the Communists. Every bank is bankrupt, every rich man impoverished, and every industry ruined. . . . If intervention comes quickly and the Communist leaders are made responsible for the lives of the hostages there will be no shedding of civilian blood." Hungary's guilt in 1914 had been amply punished.

THE BREAK-UP OF TURKEY

Momentarily Exalted by the Victory of Its German Master, Turkey Soon Comes to the End of Its Rope

A VANISHED EMPIRE

THE empire of the Ottomans shares with the empire of the Hapsburgs the unenviable distinction of having been swept utterly from the scene by the wrathful besom of the Great War. Its slowly dying body, kept alive for generations by the jealousies of Europe and recently galvanized into spasmodic activity by Pan-Germanism, to-day lies utterly prostrate, foredoomed by the verdict of the Versailles Peace Conference as unfit to survive in the world of to-morrow. Its subject peoples, lib-

erated from the Turkish yoke, will henceforth go their ways as free men, and the Turks themselves can at most expect a modest place in their homeland—the half-arid Asia Minor plateau. Such is the squalid ending of the great military power built up by the skill of warlike sultans, once a menace to Western Christendom, and ever a source of trouble to human progress.

TURKISH "NEUTRALITY"

In the opening volume of this series the events preceding the European War are nar-



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The Seven Towers

Which guard the Hellespont, the passage between Europe and Asia

rated, and the reader may there see how cleverly Germany had posed as Turkey's friend. The appointment of a German general, Liman von Sanders, to reorganize the Turkish Army at the beginning of the year, and the further appointment of the notorious pro-German Enver Pasha as Minister of War, made Turkey's entrance into the struggle on the Teutonic side a foregone conclusion. For some three months, to be sure, Turkey maintained "neutrality," but this neutrality was a mere camouflage, designed to enable Turkey to get on a war footing. The German war-



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"The Gibraltar of the East"

A view of the harbor of Aden where the British opposed the Turkish forces.

ships *Goeben* and *Breslau* were taken into the Turkish service, German officers, soldiers and sailors swarmed in the streets of Constantinople, while the towns of Syria were full of German officers preparing openly the Turkish attack on Egypt and the Suez Canal. Thus the Turkish declaration of war against the Allies in early November, 1914, was merely the regularizing of a situation which had actually existed weeks before.

INTO THE MAELSTROM

This declaration of war was hailed with rejoicing by the Turkish press. "To arms for

the mighty conflict!" cried the *Ikdam*, one of the leading Constantinople papers. "We shall march gloriously onward, sure of our purpose and confident of its achievement. While we know that all Moslems, far and near, are with us, yet we Moslems are not alone. We have other friends, friends who are already champions and victorious in war. With them we fight side by side." "The help of the illustrious Prophet," announced the Sultan in a public proclamation, "will certainly ensure our success and the utter overthrow of our enemies." This religious note had reference to the "Holy War," or "Jihad," which the chief Islamic authorities had declared against the Entente nations in mid-November. This swelled the tide of Turkish enthusiasm to its flood. A general rising of the whole Moslem world was confidently expected, and the Turkish papers painted India in rebellion, North Africa in arms, and the Entente Powers as reeling under their death-blow. It was a long time before the Turkish people found out that the Moslem world, far from rising at the call, denounced the act as a machination of "Young Turk" freethinkers in impious association with German "Infidels." The Turks were forced to content themselves with the sympathetic stirrings which took place in Egypt and Persia, though these did them little practical good, as Egypt was held down by British troops while Persia never openly abandoned neutrality and was mostly occupied by Russian soldiery.

THE DARDANELLES CRISIS

In fact, with the spring of 1915, Constantinople itself was menaced by the great Anglo-French naval assault upon the Dardanelles. For days the city was in a panic, people expecting every morning to see the smoke of the Allied dreadnoughts on the southern horizon. The failure of the Allied attack, however, converted panic into wild exultation. The *Tanin* boasted that Turkey had "destroyed the myth of English sea-power," and went on: "These Turks, despised by all the world, heroically dared to bare their breasts in defense of their country's fortresses against the attack of her enemy. The English fleet was in two days to silence the forts and overthrow the Ottoman capital, and so wipe the Ottoman name off the map! How different the result! The weak,

insignificant Turks proved more than a match for proud Britannia, and all the world wondered. We boldly faced this enemy of humanity and all her threats, and proved all her boasting vain. First and most we now rejoice, but we have also set an example to be followed by all those suffering oppression under British rule. For us the fear of English domination, trembling before her absolute power, is a thing of the past. Let others follow our example!"

"CENTRAL EUROPE"

Nineteen hundred and fifteen was certainly Turkey's lucky year. The spring had marked the successful holding of the Straits. The summer was to see her arch-enemy, Russia, beaten to the dust by the Teutonic drive into Poland. The autumn was to cap the climax by the alliance with Bulgaria, the crushing of Serbia, and the consequent opening up of direct land-communication with the Teutonic Empires. It was this lack of direct communication that had kept Turkey so short of supplies and had threatened her with disaster. Now "Central Europe" was a solid block, trains were running from Berlin to the Bosphorus, and German divisions could come quickly in case of need. In Turkish eyes the war was as good as over. "While the Quadruple Entente watches the complete loss of all its trump cards," wrote the Constantinople *Hillal*, "the new Quadruple Alliance has just accomplished its object—the junction of its allied armies. This junction not only makes the Alliance invincible in the Balkans, but it puts it in a position to threaten the world-power of proud Albion. England is perfectly aware of the lot that is to be hers in the very near future. . . . Since the war must end where it began, there can be no further doubt that we have already entered the last phase of the general war."

GATHERING CLOUDS

The rejoicings of 1915 were, however, premature. The new year saw the beginning of that steady series of reverses and misfortunes which was destined to end, some three years later, in total collapse. The first shock was delivered by Russia. In February, 1916, the Grand Duke Nicholas made his famous spring

upon Erzerum and soon overran the greater part of Turkish Armenia, thus showing that, though badly mauled in the West, the Bear was still strong enough to handle its Ottoman adversary. The Russian victories diffused an air of gloom over Constantinople which not even the surrender of General Townshend's British Mesopotamian Army at Kut-el-Amara could entirely dispel. The economic situation was also far from good. The strain of pro-



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The Sultan of Turkey

longed war and the Allied naval blockade was beginning to tell, and many parts of the empire were suffering acute famine.

THE ARMENIAN MASSACRES

It was as a "preventive" measure to minimize the importance of such Russian successes that the Turkish Government had, during 1915, begun that terrible butchery of an entire nation which must ever hold such a hideous rank among the world's misdeeds. The

border provinces of Asiatic Turkey next to Russian Transcaucasia were largely inhabited by Armenians, and the Armenians, maltreated and massacred by their Turkish masters for decades, made no secret of their sympathy for

ties of Armenian freedom, eager to strike the hereditary Turkish foe.

The Turkish Government became seriously apprehensive of an Armenian rising along the border, and at the possibility the traditional



The Patriarch of the Armenian Church at Jerusalem

Armenia claims to possess the oldest national church in all Christendom.

the Allied cause and their hopes of deliverance by Russian arms from the intolerable Turkish yoke. The large Armenian population of Russian Transcaucasia had enthusiastically supported Russia from the beginning, and the Russian ranks were full of these zealous apos-

Turkish antipathy for the Armenians flamed up hotly as in the past. Taking advantage of this angry mood, certain Armenian-haters high in government circles, headed by the notorious Talaat Bey, Minister of the Interior, determined to make a clean sweep of the Armenians.

Their sinister intentions were veiled under a decree ostensibly providing for the removal of disaffected elements from the border provinces to the interior of the empire, but the ruthless manner in which the decree was carried out precipitated one of the most appalling tragedies in human history. The Armenians were herded from their homes like cattle, were exposed to every outrage by their brutal guards, mostly wild Kurds, their traditional enemies, and were finally led into waterless

downtrodden, border people; they were as numerous as the Turks themselves, occupying all the eastern part of Asiatic Turkey, including Syria, Mesopotamia, and, of course, the Arabian peninsula itself. For years there had been unrest among the Arabs, who had never really reconciled themselves to Turkish overlordship and who had aspired in growing numbers to independence. The proclamation of the Holy War had evoked a temporary outburst of religious enthusiasm, but this had soon died



A Camel Transport in Asia Minor

deserts where they perished of thirst and hunger by the hundred thousands. Allowing for all possible exaggerations, it is probable that fully a million Armenians perished. The chief survivors were young women, given over to the Moslem soldiery or sold for the harems, and the prettier children, reserved for rearing as Mohammedans.

THE ARAB REVOLT

Vastly more serious for Turkey was another internal difficulty—Arab disaffection. The Arabs were not, like the Armenians, a

away, and the harshness and exactions of Turkish officials in the Arab provinces quickly swelled Arab disaffection to a degree never previously attained. The gathering storm finally broke with the revolt of the leading Arab religious personage, the Shereef of Mecca, who in June, 1916, declared Arab independence. Promptly aided by England, which controlled the whole Arabian coast and could pour in arms and supplies, the revolt swelled to notable proportions, and by the close of 1916 most of Turkish Arabia was lost, with Syria and Mesopotamia full of sympathetic unrest.

THE DOWNWARD PATH

The year 1917 opened gloomily. The British were preparing a double advance from Egypt into Syria and through Mesopotamia to meet the Russians who were advancing southward through Armenia. But for the Russian Revolution, the collapse of Turkey might have occurred then instead of at the close of 1918. But the revolution paralyzed the Russian armies, and though the British Mesopotamian force made some progress, Turkey was given a breathing-space. The final collapse of Russia and the capitulation of Brest-Litovsk indeed roused Turkish hopes and ambitions once more. Turkey actually had dreams of acquiring Russian Transcaucasia, Persia, and ultimately of menacing England in Egypt and India. But these wild visions were the last flickerings of a dying fire. All was dependent upon German victory in western Europe, and when Ludendorff's desperate drive on Paris ended in failure in mid-summer of 1918, the Turks saw the handwriting on the wall.

Despite some successes on the Russian Caucasus front, Turkey's military position in the south was already desperate. The British had overrun most of Mesopotamia, while another British army, advancing from Egypt, had overrun all Palestine and was knocking at the gates of Damascus, the key of Syria. Bulgaria's surrender to the Allies in September was the last straw. Communications with Germany were thereby severed, and even if they had remained open, Germany herself was at her last gasp. So Turkey resigned herself to her fate, and on October 31, 1918, signed an armistice with the Allies at Mudros, on the island of Lemnos, in the Ægean Sea, which was tantamount to unconditional surrender. Before the end of the year the Allies were in possession of Constantinople.

SENTENCE OF DEATH

What the fate of Turkey at the victors' hands was likely to be was soon foreshadowed. On this point the Allies had never made any secret of their intentions, and these intentions were clarified by the formal announcement of the British and French Governments, published on November 7th, a week after Turkey's sur-

render. This document stated that it was the intention of the signatory powers to abolish Turkish oppression forever in the Near East and to establish governments deriving their authority from the free choice of the native populations. The text read: "The aim of France and Great Britain in carrying on in the Near East the war let loose by Germany's ambitions is the complete and final liberation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks and the establishment of governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the native populations. In view of following out this intention, France and Great Britain are agreed to encourage and hold the establishment of native governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia actually liberated by the Allies, and in the territories they are now striving to liberate, and to recognize them as soon as effectively established."

THE SECRET TREATIES

A few weeks later further light was thrown on Allied intentions by a speech of the French Foreign Minister Pichon in the Chamber of Deputies calling attention to certain agreements between the Entente Powers concluded during the years 1916 and 1917. These agreements dealt with the settlement of Asiatic Turkey. By their terms France was to control all of Syria, including Lebanon and part of Armenia, while England was to control all Mesopotamia and most of Arabia. The insurgents under the Shereef of Mecca were to be recognized as the independent Kingdom of the Hedjaz, though it was clear that England would exercise a supervision of its affairs. Palestine was to have an international administration. Such parts of Asia Minor as were covered by these treaties were to be definitely detached from Turkey, and the drawing of the exact boundaries of the remaining Turkish area was to be left to the Peace Conference which would assemble at the close of the war. The inhabitants of Syria, Lebanon, Armenia, and Mesopotamia were to have the right to choose their own form of government, England and France acting as advisers within their respective spheres of control. Italian aspirations on southwest Asia Minor, which had been evident even before the war, were spe-

cifically upheld, and the Entente attitude toward that region was clearly explained by the text, which ran as follows: "France, Great Britain, and Russia recognize as an axiom the fact that Italy is interested in maintaining the political balance of power in the Mediterra-

nean, and her right to take over, when Turkey is broken up, a portion equal to theirs in the Mediterranean—namely, in that part which borders on the province of Adalia, where Italy has already acquired special rights and interests."

PERSIA TORN BETWEEN TWO FEARS

Until the Russian Revolution, Persia Feared the Czar; After the Revolution, England

THE BRIDGE TO THE EAST

IN the panorama of the World War, Persia was always thought of as a sideshow. Far from the storm-centers of strife, it attracted comparatively little public attention. In fact, Persia never appeared on the roll of belligerent nations, remaining throughout technically neutral. Yet, despite this technical neutrality, Persia was decidedly "in" the war. Much blood flowed within her frontiers, plot and counterplot of rival diplomatic agents disturbed her political life, making her a center of intrigue. Persia was, in truth, one of those outlying regions, not so much vital in itself as important through its potential trouble-making capacity in certain contingencies.

The reason for this last is not far to seek. A glance at the map will explain it. Persia is the bridge between the two halves of the Mohammedan world. The realm of Islam, stretching broadly from Morocco to China, here narrows to relatively slender proportions—the plateau-land of Persia lying between the Caspian Sea on the north and the Indian Ocean on the south. One of Germany's pet schemes in the recent war was the raising of the Moslem world on its side. The alliance with Turkey and the Sultan's proclamation of the "Jihad" or "Holy War" was the first step to this end. But the sole feasible means of reaching the eastern half of the Moslem world—Afghanistan, Central Asia and India—lay through Persia. Hence Persia became a battle ground, with Germany and Turkey trying to possess it and press

eastward, and with England and Russia trying to keep the Turco-Germans out and maintain unimpaired their own grip on the Middle East.

STRANGLED PERSIA

The Turco-Germans' best hope of success lay in the temper of the Persian people themselves. Persia had long been in a state of profound decadence, and in its weakness had fallen under the influence of the two great Middle Eastern Powers, England and Russia. England was quite willing to limit her hold, but Czarist Russia, thoroughly imperialistic and hungry for warm-water ports, dreamed of annexing the greater part of Persia and driving her frontiers clear down to the Indian Ocean. This menace to India England could not tolerate. At the same time, Persia was so weak and incapable of opposing Russian expansion, that English statesmen were in a quandary. In the years preceding the European War the "Persian Question" was complicated by a sudden awakening of the Persian people, who showed signs of shaking off their Oriental torpor and of raising their country from the slough of decrepitude into which it had fallen. The first aim of the Persian patriots was to free Persia from both Russian and English influence and to reëstablish its genuine independence. This Russia was determined never to permit, and many English imperialists also looked upon the movement with misgivings. The result was the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. This agreement, while paying lip-service to Per-



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Christian Soldiers of Persia

The people of Mavana, a town on the Turco-Persian frontier, the only Christian inhabitants of Persia with the privilege of carrying arms, valiantly defended their homes when the Turks invaded this neutral territory.

sian independence and territorial integrity, really partitioned Persia, the country being thenceforth divided into a Russian "sphere of influence" in the north, a British sphere of influence in the south, and a "Neutral Zone" between. The Persians protested and attempted resistance, but this merely brought on armed intervention by Russia, which occupied northern Persia, treating it like a Russian province and inflicting barbarous severities upon the inhabitants. Helpless and hopeless, the Persians bowed their heads, but their hearts were full of hatred for their oppressors.

PERSIAN PRO-GERMANISM

Such was the field which lay invitingly open to Turco-German intrigue just beyond Turkey's eastern border. It is not strange that the Persians should have looked to the Turco-Germans as to deliverers and should not have scrutinized too closely the character of their self-appointed saviors, intent as they were upon driving out the Russian and British oppressors. The war was, in fact, not many months old before Persia was seething from end to end with unrest and incipient

rebellion. The great mass of the Persian people, including its most patriotic elements, were unquestionably anti-Ally and pro-Turkish. The Allies' only partisans were the subservient government officials whom the Russians and English had favored in return for subservience. Finally, there was the young Shah, a rather unfavorable specimen of Oriental monarch, weak, dissolute, and much swayed by his courtiers.

THE GREAT TURCO-GERMAN PLOT

The year 1915 opened with a whirlwind of intrigue at the Persian capital, Teheran, the storm-center being the royal palace. The "patriot" party desired to join Turkey and Germany, the government clique wished to maintain Persia's neutrality. Both sides fought over the young Shah, who was of course a trump card. Meanwhile Russia was reënforcing her garrisons in northern Persia, while Turkish troops and Kurdish light horsemen were pouring into Persia from the west. The Russians succeeded in confining the Turkish invaders to the border provinces, but Turco-German propaganda was active

throughout Persia, Teheran swarmed with "patriot" partisans, and in the autumn a bold attempt was made to carry off the young Shah and get him to declare war on the Allies. So affected was the young Shah that he had actually ordered his carriage to leave for the Patriot camp when the Russian and British Ministers arrived at the palace and so alarmed him by their warnings of what would follow on his contemplated conduct that he changed his mind. "In the meantime," says Dr. Dillon, the well-known correspondent, "the German, Austrian, and Turkish diplomats were awaiting the arrival of the Shah, having made all possible preparations to welcome him. The Swedish gendarmerie—the

RUSSIA'S 'BOUT-FACE

As a matter of fact, the year 1915 marked the zenith of Turco-German efforts in Persia. Never again did they come so near sweeping Persia formally in on their side. The struggle was, however, by no means over. Fresh Turkish forces were sent into Persia in 1916, and considerable fighting occurred between the Turks and Russians along Persia's western border. Separated from the Turks by the Russians, but still able to make trouble, were the Patriot bands which roamed over southern Persia. The Patriots were, however, presently taken between two fires. England had previously played little part in the



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Turkish Battleships in the Golden Horn at Constantinople

This picture was taken by Henry Morgenthau, Jr., on Feb. 18, 1915, the day before the bombardment of the Dardanelles began.

colonel of which was wholly pro-German—was drawn up, the diplomatists were in full-dress uniform, the staffs were present, and all arrangements had been made for the withdrawal of the government to Ispahan. The dismay of these gentlemen when the Shah's decision became known cannot be pictured in words." Russian troops were, in fact, approaching Teheran by forced marches from the north, and the young Shah was soon safely under Russian control. Shortly afterwards the Russians defeated the Patriot army some distance south of Teheran, and by the end of 1915 it looked as though both the Turkish invasion and the Patriot rebellion had failed, with Russia master of the situation.

The possibility of a German and Turkish attack upon British India through Persian territory seemed precluded.

Persian imbroglio, but she now reënforced her detachment along the seacoast and gradually pacified her southern sphere. During the opening months of 1917 it looked as though the last sparks of Persian disaffection were going to be stamped out. But just then came the Russian Revolution. The Revolutionary government at Petrograd hastened to disavow all the imperialistic designs of the fallen Czarist régime, and this of course most emphatically included Persia. Accordingly, the Russian armies in Persia were first ordered to halt and then to evacuate the country. This enormously encouraged the Persian patriots, who began to dream of independence and the expulsion of foreign influence once more. The extraordinary turn-over caused by the Russian Revolution can be gauged by the fact that Russia, from being the nightmare, be-

came the ideal of patriotic Persians. All over northern Persia patriots and Russians fraternized in the streets, and popular enthusiasm reached its climax early in 1918 when the Bolshevik government informed the Persian Minister at Petrograd that, so far as Russia was concerned, the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 partitioning Persia was null and void. The object, of course, was to revolutionize Persia, and the calculation seemed to be not unreasonable. Persia was in deplorable shape. Harried and fought over for four years, the country was devastated, bankrupt, and hungry. All this made for social unrest. Accordingly the more advanced "Young Persians" were soon talking Bolshevism and sporadic mob-violence broke out at many points, especially in the north.

ENGLAND'S FINAL VICTORY

All this made the position of England in Persia an increasingly difficult one. As the Russian armies withdrew during 1917 the English extended their sphere of occupation, but the British forces were unable to police the entire country and keep order. Furthermore, England was fast becoming the chief object of Persian hostility. The British Government had not imitated Russia's renuncia-

tion of the 1907 treaty, and this British silence made many Persians fear that England was planning to inherit Russia's claims and to dominate the whole country. In their angry and excited state of mind they turned to the Turks and Germans once more. This was precisely what the Germans were after. They had just dictated terms of peace to Bolshevik Russia at Brest-Litovsk and were full of schemes for the overrunning of the Middle East and an attack on Britain's Empire in India. Throughout the spring of 1918 the situation in Persia was most critical. A Turkish army broke into northwest Persia, now entirely stripped of Russian troops, and was joyfully received by the inhabitants. The only thing which prevented a general sweep through Persia was the British successes in Mesopotamia. Here the British, long masters of Bagdad, were pressing northward and forcing the Turks to keep their armies at home instead of sending them eastward on ambitious Persian ventures. Thus protected against a major Turkish invasion, the small British forces in Persia succeeded in policing the country and keeping down disaffection, until the end of the war removed all further danger of Turco-German inroads into Persia. In 1919 the country became, by treaty, a virtual British protectorate.

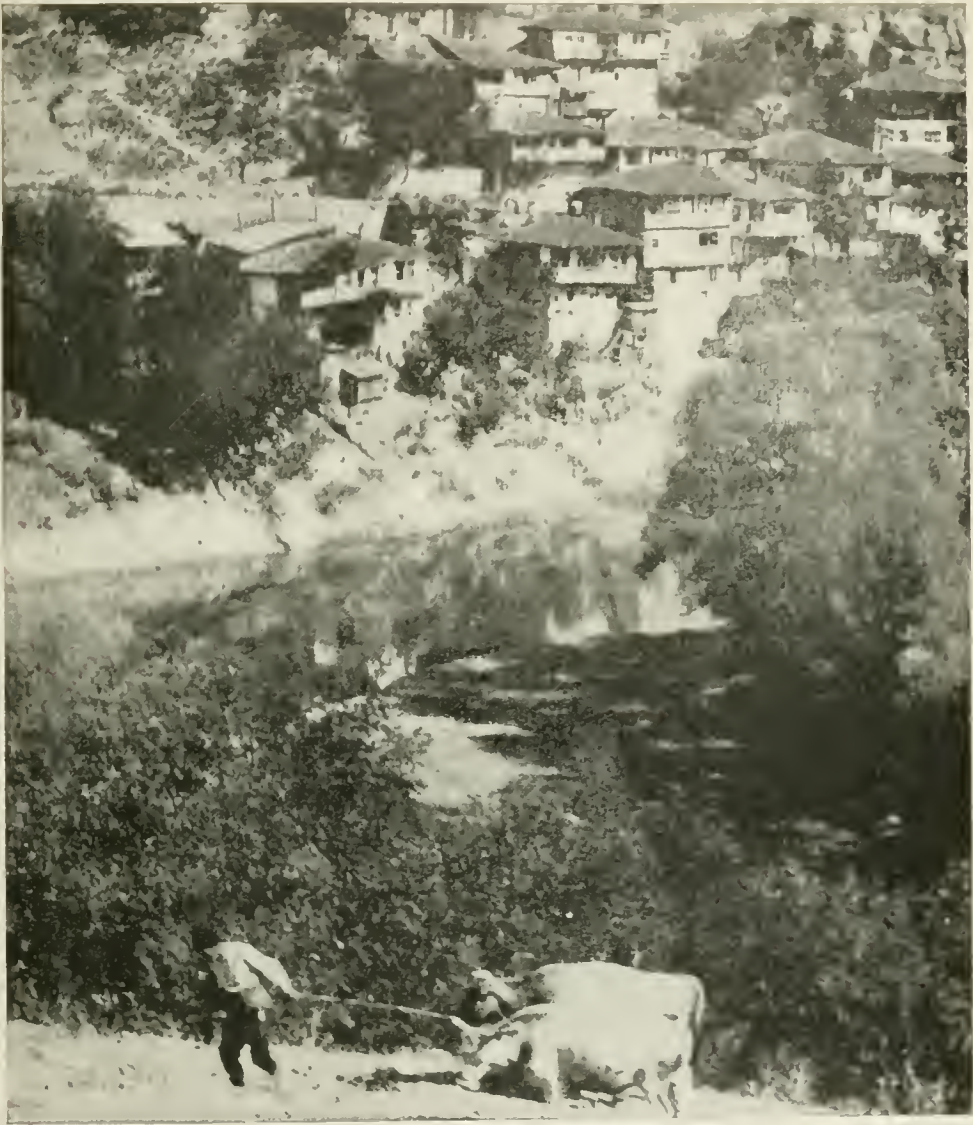
THE COBURGER'S DREAM OF EMPIRE

Bulgaria Seeks German Aid in Aspiring to Dominate the Balkans, and Repents Too Late

THE CUCKOO IN THE SLAV NEST

THE Bulgarians are not true Slavs. That is the basic fact ever to be held in mind when considering this peculiar people. The web of history is woven long, a single thread sometimes stretching unbroken through many centuries. Such a thread was caught upon Fate's loom when the wild "Bolgari" crossed the Danube more than a thousand years ago. These Bolgari were a tribe of nomad horsemen come from the distant plains of Asia. They belonged to the Turanian race and were

therefore kinsmen of the Hungarian Magyars and of the Turks. South of the Danube the Bolgari found a mass of primitive Slav tribes. The Bolgari conquered these Slavs and settled down as masters. So much more numerous were the Slavs that the Bolgari soon lost their speech and racial identity, albeit the new mixed race kept the conquerors' name, being known henceforth as "Bulgarians." But though the Bulgarians, with their Slavic speech, came to be regarded as a Slav people, the Asiatic strain stamped them with marked Turanian characteristics which set



A Typical Bulgarian Mountain Village

them quite apart in the category of "Slav" peoples. That accounts for the gulf which separates the Bulgarians from the truly Slavic Serbs to the west. What a contrast between the temperamental, mystic Serb and the dour, practical, hard-headed Bulgarian with his dogged, plodding, almost ferocious energy translating itself normally into unrelenting labor! "The Bulgar on his ox-cart," says the national proverb, "pursues the hare—and overtakes it." The modern Bulgarian often boasts his Turanian ancestry.

A PEACE THAT WAS NO PEACE

The remarkable rise of Bulgaria after its liberation from Turkish rule in 1878, its bold bid for Balkan supremacy in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13, and the curbing of Bulgarian ambitions in the resulting Peace of Bucharest, have been told in Volume I. To the Bulgarians, however, the Bucharest "Peace" was no peace. It was merely a whetting of knives. That Bulgaria would try to make the Bucharest treaty a "scrap of paper" was no secret

from the first. Czar Ferdinand merely voiced the national will when he announced in his proclamation to the army, "Exhausted, but not vanquished, we have had to furl our glorious standards in order to wait for better days." The outsider can hardly realize the half-insane fury which settled down on the Bulgarian people as it watched the victorious Serbs and Greeks persecuting the Bulgarians of Macedonia. How the Serb was regarded is

BACK TO TURAN!

Thus Bulgaria brooded, waiting her hour of vengeance. Then came the European War. How Bulgarian popular sympathies would go was perfectly clear from the first. Serbia, the arch-enemy, was fighting the Entente's battles. Greece and Rumania were Entente sympathizers. Russia and France, which had backed Bulgaria's enemies at the Peace of



Bulgarian Peasant Women

They look very picturesque in their old-time costumes, but they are densely ignorant and live in poverty and squalor.

shown by this popular Bulgarian war-song composed just after the Peace of Bucharest: "We took your hands as brothers, but hell lurked in your hearts! Inveterate brigands, who have trampled under foot honor, altar, and good name; you have despoiled us without shame! You have soiled the temple of our country! Inhuman demons, hiding crime in your souls; you are the creatures of wickedness and fury! We remember all, and savagely shall we avenge your satanic plans, your accursed envy!"

Bucharest, made up two of the three Entente powers. How, then, could the average Bulgarian wish for Entente success? When, therefore, Russia approached the Bulgarian "Little Brothers of the South" with appeals to their "Pan-Slavism," the answer was a chorus of defiance and scornful laughter. In fact, ever since Bucharest, the Bulgarians had been repudiating their Slavism and had been recalling their Turanian origins. "Call us Huns, Turks, Tartars, but not Slavs!" cried a prominent Bulgarian on the signing of the

Bucharest treaty. At the close of 1913 the great patriotic organization "Narodni Savetz," headed by no less a person than Premier Radoslavov, had passed this resolution: "The Bulgarian people must break with this ideal, so false and fatal for us—the ideal of Slav fraternity." The well-known Bulgarian poet, Cyril Khristov, set the prevailing Turanian fashion by calling himself a "Tartaro-Bulgar." Already in 1913 the Bulgarian Government had concluded a diplomatic understanding with Turkey which had received general popular approval.

THE COURTING OF BULGARIA

The European War was not many months old before both sets of belligerents came suing for Bulgaria's armed assistance. Bulgaria's geographical position made her alliance very much worth having. If she joined the Allies, Turkey was doomed, and Greece and Rumania, already predominantly pro-Ally, would undoubtedly join the Entente, thus forming a solid Balkan block with Serbia which would strike Austria-Hungary a terrific blow which might well be fatal. If Bulgaria joined the Central Powers, Turkey was saved, Serbia was taken between two fires, and Serbia's fall would mean the creation of a solid "Mitteleuropa" stretching uninterruptedly from Belgium to Bagdad. Small wonder, then, that Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, became the theater of a diplomatic battle between the keenest wits of the Allied and Teutonic chancelleries.

The Allies were, of course, badly handicapped from the start by Bulgaria's hatred of Serbia and pique at Russia. Also the 1913 understanding with Turkey and a \$100,000,000 loan granted by Germany to Bulgaria in that same year were bad omens for the future. Nevertheless, the Entente diplomats did not wholly despair of bringing Bulgaria over to their side. The Bulgarian people had no special liking for either Germany or Austria, while on the other hand there was a traditional sympathy between one Entente nation—England—and Bulgaria. The official attitude of the Bulgarian Government had thus far been quite correct, a proclamation of absolute neutrality having been issued at the beginning of the European War, and the Bul-

garian Premier, M. Radoslavov, lost no opportunity of emphasizing Bulgaria's freedom from entangling alliances with either side in the struggle.

BULGARIA'S DEMANDS

M. Radoslavov left no doubt as to what Bulgaria's price would be for entering the war. Bulgaria demanded the demolition of



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A Bulgarian Sky Scout

Gen. Yankoff reading the report of Lieut. Tarantchiff after the latter's trip over the city of Adrianople.

the Bucharest settlement. Translated into specific terms, this implied the cession by Serbia of the Bulgar-inhabited portions of Macedonia, the cession by Greece of the Kavalla-Drama-Seres region along the Aegean seaboard, the restoration by Rumania of the Silistria province acquired from Bulgaria under the Treaty of Bucharest, and the cession by Turkey of the Enos-Midea frontier as stipulated by the Treaty of London of 1913. Such were the conditions which Premier Radoslavov communicated to the British Minister

at Sofia in May, 1915. To satisfy these requirements was for the Entente Powers a virtually impossible task. Bulgaria's demand for Turkish territory was readily acceded to, for Turkey was an open enemy. But Serbia was an ally, while Greece and Rumania were neutrals whom the Entente needed equally with Bulgaria for the accomplishment of their Balkan designs. And none of these three nations would make the required sacrifices. The Austro-German diplomats, on the other hand, could easily promise Bulgaria what she wanted above everything else—Serbian Macedonia, and since it was fairly clear that if Greece and Rumania entered the war at all they would go in on the Entente side, the Teutons could give Bulgaria good hopes of granting her demands against those two Balkan nations as well. Lastly, the Teuton diplomats promised to use their good offices with Turkey to accord Bulgaria a favorable rectification of her Turkish frontier.

BULGARIA INCLINES TO THE GERMAN SIDE

The dice being thus heavily loaded in favor of the Central Powers, the chief factor restraining Bulgaria from entering their camp was obviously fear of choosing the losing side. When M. Radoslavov made his offer to the British Minister in May, 1915, the impending adhesion of Italy to the Entente was sending Entente prestige up at Sofia. But the terrible Teutonic "drive" against Russia which soon after began entirely altered the aspect of things. The Bulgarian Government had accurate information of Russian weakness and realized that if the Russian military machine was once shattered it could never again become a primary factor in the war. Therefore, when, by the end of the summer, it became clear that the Russian armies were indeed broken, Bulgarian staff-officers and diplomats alike began to consider the Teutonic Empires as potential victors, thus inclining them to take the Teutonic gamble.

BULGARIAN POPULAR OPINION IS ANTI-RUSSIAN

This increasing pro-Germanism of Bulgarian official circles was abetted by the growing pro-Germanism of Bulgarian public opinion.

The Teutonic victories over Russia and the near prospect of a Teutonic "drive" against Serbia sharpened antagonism against these two popular bugbears and roused enthusiasm for the Teutonic chastisers of Bulgaria's enemies. When the Teutonic drive against Russia began in June, the semi-official *Kambana*, hitherto cautious in tone, remarked, "Russia, which longs to extend her dominion over Constantinople and the Straits, cannot permit a big Bulgaria to arise in the Balkans. She intends to make Bulgaria a Russian province. For this reason we denounce as high treason the attempts made by certain persons among us to favor Russian influence. Russia must take her hands off the Balkans and devote her energies to Asia. It is to this end that the German and Austro-Hungarian armies are fighting today. Therefore, let us hail their efforts with enthusiasm and wish them a decisive victory. The hour is propitious for conjuring forever the Russian peril which threatens our existence." And after the fall of Warsaw the leading Bulgarian military critic, Vasili Angelov, wrote: "Every true Bulgarian must rejoice in the collapse of the Russian armies. The joy we now feel is as keen as was our grief when, two years ago, Orthodox Russia treacherously unleashed against Bulgaria a pack of wolves to rend us. May God aid the brave Austro-Hungarian and German hosts to beat the Russian armies into the dust and hurl them into their own swamps, so that they may never again disquiet Europe and the Balkans by their savage and rapacious instincts."

GERMANY WINS BULGARIA'S HAND

From the very beginning of the European War there had been much avowed pro-Germanism in Bulgaria. In the autumn of 1914 the poet, Cyril Khristov, composed an impassioned ode "To Germania," ending: "Ah! How I love to see thee march victoriously forward to the conquest of that place in the world which is thy due," while early in 1915 a prominent Bulgarian politician, M. Momtchilov, wrote: "The Bulgarian people today desire an unconditional rapprochement with the great Central Powers, it thirsts for their high 'Kultur,' and sincerely desires the harmonizing of their political and economic inter-

ests." Such pro-German utterances multiplied as the summer of 1915 wore on. To be sure, Bulgarian public opinion was by no means a unit for war. Both England and Russia had partisans, while the radical elements in Bulgarian political life, especially the Socialist and Agrarian parties, opposed Bulgaria's entry into the war on either side. By the end of August the benevolence of Premier Radoslavov and government circles generally toward the Central Powers became so evident that the

manding that these officers should be expelled and that Bulgaria should break openly "with the enemies of the Slav cause" within twenty-four hours. The answer was the thunder of General Mackensen's guns as the Germans began their great drive into Serbia across the Danube, while no sooner had the Teutons obtained a footing on Serbia's northern border than the Bulgarian armies struck in on the flank and assured the rapid conquest of the whole country. Before 1915 was over, Bul-



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Behind the Lines in Bulgaria

Bulgarian Infantry protecting the transportation of food and munitions at the front.

pro-Allies and pacifists demanded the convocation of Parliament in special session and the formation of a coalition government. This Radoslavov refused, and on September 19th he ordered a general mobilization for the maintenance of "armed neutrality." The Entente Powers, particularly England, made a last desperate attempt to keep Bulgaria at least neutral, but it soon became patent that the Bulgarian Government had made up its mind to join the Teutonic Powers. The streets of Sofia suddenly swarmed with German officers and on October 4th Russia delivered an ultimatum de-

garian troops were in possession of supremely coveted Serbian Macedonia.

THE TEUTON-BULGAR HONEYMOON

Radoslavov's plunge was greeted with general satisfaction by Bulgarian public opinion, though there were some protests soon silenced by a drastic censorship and arrests of opposition politicians. The crushing of Serbia and the occupation of Macedonia naturally aroused wild enthusiasm and converted many doubters into staunch supporters of the gov-

ernment's action. And for more than a year the whole course of Balkan events tended to confirm the impression that Radoslavov had picked the right side. To begin with, German representations induced Turkey to cede to Bulgaria the frontier district of Demotika, thus enabling Bulgaria to have direct railroad connection with her Ægean coast. In the spring of 1916 the quarrel between the Greek King Constantine and the Entente enabled Bulgaria to occupy the coveted Kavalla-Drama-Seres district of Greek Macedonia; that same autumn Rumania's entrance into the war on the Entente side resulted in her speedy defeat, with Bulgarian troops retaking Silistria and overrunning the whole Dobrudja as far as the Danube mouth, and Bulgarian regiments triumphantly parading through the streets of Bucharest. Thus, by allying herself with the Teutonic Empires, Bulgaria had gained all, and more than all, that she had specified as the price of her adhesion to the Entente in the spring of 1915. Small wonder, therefore, that down to the close of 1916 Bulgaria remained a loyal member of Mitteleuropa, thoroughly contented with her bargain.

BULGARIA FINDS OUT REALPOLITIK

Viewing Bulgaria's enthusiastic pro-Germanism at the close of 1916, it would have seemed hard to realize that within two years she was to abandon the Teutonic cause with relatively little regret. As a matter of fact, however, those succeeding two years saw a whole series of frictions between Germany and her Balkan partner which steadily cooled Bulgaria's pro-German ardor and disillusioned her as to the beauties of "Central Europe." The first rift in the lute was the Russian Revolution. This event was a great shock to the Sofia politicians. As I have already stated, they knew in the summer of 1915 that Russia's military power was broken and they correctly forecasted her ultimate retirement from the war. But Sofia had visualized this retirement under Czarist auspices and thereafter to a Russo-German understanding in which Bulgaria should play the rôle of mutual friend, extracting double profits by playing off Germany against Russia in Balkan affairs. The idea was subtle, yet not without reason when we remember that it was toward pre-

cisely this state of things that the last imperial ministries of Stürmer and Golitsyn were feeling their way. Now, however, came Revolutionary Russia, renouncing imperialism and eschewing all those Near Eastern ambitions which had been the watchword of the Old Régime. This was a novel situation, a situation that Bulgaria did not like in the least. For though Russia was definitely out of the Balkans, Germany and Austria were emphatically not, and their weight was too heavy to be borne pleasantly even by their friends. It was one thing for Bulgaria to be the connecting link of Mitteleuropa, with mighty Russia always potentially present to redress the balance. It was quite another matter to be—just the link. That this was to be Bulgaria's future rôle in Mitteleuropa, Germany's new attitude made increasingly plain. The progressive disintegration of Revolutionary Russia through 1917 not only riveted Germany's hold on the Balkans but even offered the Teutons alternative roads to the East. This meant that Germany no longer needed to show Bulgaria special consideration, and what that fact implied to Teutonic minds was quickly shown by a series of bitter disillusionments that Bulgaria had to experience.

A DISPUTED MARRIAGE SETTLEMENT

The first shock to Bulgarian complacency came regarding the Dobrudja. When the Teuton-Bulgar armies had swept the Rumanians out of the Dobrudja at the time of Rumania's collapse in the closing months of 1916, Bulgaria had expected to acquire the whole peninsula. But Germany soon showed that she had other ideas in the matter. The Dobrudja not only controlled the mouth of the Danube, but also contained the port terminus of the main railroad trunk-line from Central Europe to the Black Sea. These things Germany had no intention of placing in Bulgarian hands, or in any other hands but her own. Accordingly, Bulgaria was given outright only the southern Dobrudja, the rest of the peninsula being held "in common." This matter was to be "regulated" at the final peace settlement, so the Germans declared, but Bulgaria could see with half an eye that her hopes in this quarter would never be realized.

A second shock was presently administered by Turkey. In return for Bulgaria's gains in the Dobrudja, Turkey demanded the return of the territory which she had recently ceded to Bulgaria. This territory, it will be remembered, was vital to Bulgaria's railway communications with her Ægean seaboard. Bulgaria therefore angrily rejected the proposal, Turkey as vehemently insisted, and by the beginning of 1918 a very pretty quarrel was on between the two allies, culminating in at least one bloody mix-up between Turkish and Bulgarian troops. Bulgaria thereupon ap-

pling to an ambiguous neutrality, but a year later the Entente Powers deposed King Constantine, and Greece ranged herself squarely on the Entente side, with a declaration of war against Bulgaria as one of the first consequences. Thereupon Bulgaria urged Germany to allow her definitely to annex the occupied districts and also asked Germany to promise her the rest of Greek Macedonia with Salonika when final victory should have crowned the Teuton-Bulgar arms. But here again Bulgaria discovered that Germany had other fish to fry. Ex-King Constantine and



Constantinople

A view of that interesting city looking towards Galata, Pera, and the Bosphorus.

pealed to Germany, but was deeply chagrined to receive an evasive answer. The reason for this was that Germany was then overrunning southern Russia preparatory to the military occupation of Transcaucasia and the Middle East. For such far-flung projects zealous Turkish coöperation was a prime necessity. Accordingly, Turkey had to be coddled in every possible way. As for Bulgaria—she must not embarrass Germany in her march to world-dominion.

A third shock for Bulgaria was in store. Ever since the spring of 1916 Bulgaria had occupied the Kavalla-Drama-Seres districts of Greek Macedonia. In 1916, Greece was

the Greek Royalists might yet be very useful to Berlin. Therefore they must not be alienated by giving Bulgaria territories which would render every Greek the irreconcilable foe of Mitteleuropa. Also, Salonika, the great Ægean outlet of Central Europe, was far too valuable a prize to be given exclusively into Bulgarian hands. It was the Dobrudja over again. German interests must really come first.

BULGARIA IS DISILLUSIONED

So reasoned the German diplomats. But for Bulgaria, what a disillusionment! How

far removed was this drab reality from roseate dreams of an imperial Bulgaria dominating the whole Balkan Peninsula and treating with Germany as a respected equal! The grim truth of the matter was this: Bulgaria's promised gains were being whittled away according to the shifting exigencies of German policy. Was Bulgaria sure of anything? No. Because German interests came first, and the junior partners of Mitteleuropa must "do their part." Bulgaria had entered the school of German "Realpolitik." She was now beginning to learn what German Realpolitik really meant. And the lesson was bitter.

Thus by the opening months of 1918 Bulgaria was no longer a contented member of Central Europe. Most of her political leaders were profoundly disillusioned and uncertain as to the future. Of course these political skeletons were still somewhat veiled from the masses. But meanwhile the Bulgarian peasant had been undergoing a little educative process of his own. German diplomats might ask Bulgaria to "make sacrifices." The Bulgarian peasant could answer roundly that this was just what he had long been doing. For Bulgaria was suffering—suffering in every fiber of her being. When she entered the European conflict in 1915, Bulgaria was still weak from two bloody wars. True, the Bulgarian conscripts had marched willingly enough once more, because they were told that it was a matter of a single short campaign, ending in a speedy peace. But two long years had now passed, and Bulgaria's manhood still stood mobilized in distant Macedonia, while at home the fields went to weeds, and the scanty harvest, reaped by women and children, had to be shared with the German. Everywhere there was increasing want, sometimes amounting to semi-starvation. Bulgaria, like Russia, was proving that a primitive agricultural people may make a fine campaign, but cannot wage prolonged modern war.

BULGARIA SEEKS A DIVORCE

All this discontent, both above and below, presently focused itself in the parliamentary situation. The opposition groups in the Bulgarian Parliament steadily gathered strength until on June 17, 1918, Premier Radoslavov was forced to resign. Radoslavov had been

in power since 1913. He had been the architect of the Teuton-Bulgar alliance and was known to be a firm believer in the Mitteleuropa idea. His successor, M. Malinov, naturally gave lip-service to the same program, but his past leaning had been toward Russia, and he had never displayed marked enthusiasm for the Teutonic Powers.

Of course this change of ministry in June did not mean that Bulgaria was then ready to make a separate peace with the Entente Allies. Every Bulgarian knew that such an act would mean the abandonment of Bulgaria's whole imperial dream and the immediate loss of supremely prized Macedonia. Besides, large numbers of German troops were quartered in various parts of the country. But the June change of ministry did mean that Bulgaria was discontented with her present situation and that she was resolved to take a more independent stand toward her Teutonic allies, even though Germany was at the moment in the full flush of her great Western offensive and dreaming of a speedy entry into Paris.

But just a month after Malinov's accession came the dramatic shift of fortune in the West. The German offensive broke down, and the Allies began their astounding succession of victories. Instantly the Balkan situation altered. Bulgaria knew that the spring offensive had been Germany's supreme bid for victory. To fill the ranks for the rush on Paris and the Channel ports the last German veterans had been withdrawn from the East. Gone were those field-gray divisions which had stiffened the Macedonian front and kept down popular discontent by garrisoning Bulgarian towns. The peasant voice was at last free to speak, and it spoke in no uncertain terms for an end of the war. Agrarian disturbances increased in frequency. Peace demonstrations occurred in Sofia. In fact, some of these demonstrations were tinged with revolutionary red. Bolshevism, that wild revolt against the whole existing order then beginning to break out in every quarter of the globe, had not passed Bulgaria by. Of course there was the army, but the army itself was not immune. By early July, Bulgarian deserters and prisoners taken on the Macedonian front were telling the Allied intelligence officers strange tales—tales of mid-

night soldiers' meetings at which "delegates" were chosen in true Russian fashion, and which Bulgarian regimental officers found it wisest to ignore.

BULGARIA QUILTS

Such was the situation in early summer. By the first days of autumn Bulgaria was cracking from end to end. The Entente's psychological moment had come. Accordingly, in mid-September, General Franchet d'Esperey, the commander of the Allied armies on the Macedonian front, ordered the Macedonian offensive. The results were instantaneous. The Allied columns went through the Bulgarian line like a knife through rotten cheese, and a few days after the offensive began the Bulgarians were in full retreat. Terrified at the outlook, Czar Ferdinand sent telegram after telegram to Berlin imploring assistance, but Germany, itself faced with disaster on the Western front, had no troops to spare. Every hour the situation became more hopeless.

Faced by this hopeless situation, Czar Ferdinand gave his assent to begin negotiations for an armistice. General Franchet d'Esperey, the Allied Generalissimo in the Balkans, roundly told the Bulgarian emissaries that nothing short of unconditional surrender would be granted. Bulgaria had no choice, and on the evening of September 29th the armistice was signed. By its terms Bulgaria agreed to evacuate immediately all Greek and Serbian territory then in her possession, to demobilize her army, and to surrender all her means of transport to the Allies, this last

to include free passage to Allied troops across Bulgaria by railway or otherwise. Bulgaria was to give up her arms and suffer a military occupation by British, French and Italian forces. All questions of territorial settlement were omitted from the armistice, being left to the decision of the coming peace conference.

Discredited, despairing, and faced with the rage of his disillusioned subjects, only one course remained for Ferdinand—abdication. Accordingly, on October 4th, he abdicated in favor of his son, Crown Prince Boris, and left Sofia that same night for Vienna. The abdication manifesto called upon "all faithful subjects and true patriots to unite as one man about the throne of King Boris, to lift the country from its difficult situation, and to elevate new Bulgaria to the height to which it is predestined." Immediately afterward Premier Malinov made an official statement explaining the circumstances leading up to the surrender and adding: "We know of the profound misery which has overwhelmed the country, and we deplore it. We know the wrong was due largely to not receiving succor from our allies, but this is past, and our duty now is to repair as far as possible the results of the national catastrophe." The accession of Prince Boris met with widespread popular approval, and the young ruler, addressing a large crowd from the palace, said: "I thank you for your manifestation of patriotic sentiments. I have faith in the good star of Bulgaria, and I believe that the Bulgar people, by their good qualities and coöperation, are directed to a brilliant future."

RUMANIA

By George Edward Woodberry

Another land has crashed into the deep,
The heir and namesake of that Rome,
whose laws
Spread the great peace—Gray Power, that
yet o'erawes
The thoughts of men, first to bid nations
keep
The bounds of right, and earth's wild bor-
ders sleep,
O, from thy pinnacle, 'mid time's applause
Salute, great Rome, the victim of man's
cause,

Thy child, Rumania!—Nay, not ours to
weep.

O Latin Race! how doth our debt increase
At every flash of thy unfathomed soul,
Long on the rock of justice founding peace,
While ever round thee new-born ages roll!
Genius divine! when shall thy glory cease!
Rise, rise, Rumania! yet thy soul is whole!

From *Scribner's Magazine*. Copyright, 1916,
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THE FRANCE OF THE BALKANS

Betrayed by Russia, Ravaged by Germans, Sapped by Bolshevism, Rumania Wins the Prize of Victory

THE LATIN ENIGMA

RUMANIA is in many respects a puzzle. Here is a people who look like Southern Italians, and who speak a language more akin to the ancient Latin than any other living tongue. Yet this people is sundered by hundreds of miles of territory inhabited by utterly alien races from the nearest outposts of the modern Latin world—the Italians at the head of the Adriatic Sea. The Rumanians themselves explain their Latin characteristics by claiming to be the descendants of Trajan's legions. Whether or not this picturesque legend be true, certain it is that the Rumanians' belief in its truth has profoundly influenced Balkan politics, because it has made Rumanians sympathetic to the Latin world, especially to France, and has kept them apart from the Slavs who almost surround them.

Before the late war the Rumanians were, like most of the Balkan peoples, a people with great expectations. The Rumanian state was a comparatively small kingdom of less than 8,000,000 inhabitants. But to east, north, and west of Rumania's political frontiers stretched a broad band of territory inhabited by fully 6,000,000 more persons of Rumanian blood. It was the constant dream of Rumanian patriots to unite these people to the homeland and thus to expand the Rumanian state into a kingdom which would rank as a first-class power. The difficulty was that these unredeemed brethren dwelt under the sway of two great Powers—Austria-Hungary and Russia. The Hapsburg Empire had nearly 4,000,000 Ruman-speaking subjects in Transylvania, Bukovina, and other regions lying westward of the Rumanian kingdom, while to the east lay Russia's province of Bessarabia, containing fully 2,000,000 persons of Rumanian stock. Since it was obvious that neither Austria nor Russia would ever volun-

tarily surrender these provinces, Rumania's sole chance of obtaining them seemed to be an alliance with one or other of them if her two giant neighbors should ever come to blows. For a generation before the late war, indeed, Rumania was allied to the Teutonic Powers.

RUMANIAN NEUTRALITY

Despite this fact, however, when the European War broke out, Rumania declared her neutrality. She was influenced thereto by several motives. Repugnance at the aggressive action of the Teutonic Empires and sympathy with France were potent factors, but the most powerful fact making for neutrality was probably Rumania's alliance with Serbia in the Balkan Wars only a year before. As a result of those wars Rumania had obtained a considerable slice of Bulgarian territory and knew that Bulgaria had thereby become her implacable enemy. She also knew that Bulgaria was friendly to Austria and Germany. Rumania felt that if Serbia were crushed, the Teutonic Empires would dominate the Balkans and would reward their friend Bulgaria, reducing Rumania to relative insignificance. Indeed, there was a strong party in Rumania, headed by the well-known statesman Take Jonescu, which wished to join the Allies and try to get Austria's Rumanian-inhabited provinces as a reward. This party was destined to have its way in the autumn of 1916. But in 1914 the bulk of the Rumanian people was for neutrality. The Rumanians knew that theirs was a small country, ill-defended against Austria, and thus exposed to invasion and possible national extinction if the Teutonic Empires should win. Indeed, there was a small pro-German party. Old King Carol was a Hohenzollern and wished to stand by the treaty and join Austria and Germany. But his ministers told the King that this

would mean revolution, so Carol reluctantly signed the neutrality proclamation. A few weeks after the outbreak of the war he died, and his son, King Ferdinand, brought up in the country and feeling himself much more a Rumanian than his German-born father, acquiesced heartily in his ministers' decision. The pilot of the Rumanian ship of state was John Bratianu, a cautious, tactful statesman, well versed in European affairs.

The course of affairs in Rumania during the first part of the war was strongly reminiscent of Italy. There was the same heated debate between pro-Allies and pro-Germans, the same body of genuinely neutralist feeling, gradually tending to become pro-Ally, and the same quiet strengthening of the Army by the government to meet possible eventualities. Meanwhile, Premier Bratianu was assiduously courted by both the Allies and the Teutons. The Allies were, however, able to offer Rumania much more than the Teutons, who could promise nothing beyond Russia's province of Bessarabia, and in the late summer of 1916 M. Bratianu signed a secret treaty with the Entente Powers by which Rumania was promised all those Austro-Hungarian territories in which there was any considerable Rumanian population, the chief regions promised being Transylvania, the Banat of Temesvar, and southern Bukovina. Thus satisfied politically, Rumania declared war on the Teutonic Empires and Bulgaria at the end of August, 1916.

THE INVASION OF RUMANIA

Rumania entered the war with high hopes, but these hopes were speedily disappointed. In the first place, the nation itself was not united. The small but influential pro-German minority remained secretly opposed to the war, while many of the peasantry, whose lot had for years been a hard one, were more interested in land reform than anything else, and so marched half-heartedly to the struggle. Lastly, Russia did not furnish the expected aid. When Rumania entered the war she expected a large Russian army of reinforcement, but the Russian Government, after having precipitated Rumania's declaration of war by diplomatic pressure amounting almost to an ultimatum, sent almost no soldiers. This

was the period prior to the Russian Revolution when Russia was governed by reactionary ministers tainted with pro-Germanism, and it has been charged that Russia's rulers deliberately plotted Rumania's ruin. At any rate, Rumania was left virtually unsupported by Russia to face a concentric attack from the Austro-Germans from the west and by the Bulgarians from the south. Under this combined pressure the Rumanian armies were badly defeated and soon the greater part of Rumania was overrun by the invaders, the wrecks of the Rumanian armies holding only those parts of the kingdom adjacent to Russia, the richest parts of the kingdom being occupied by the invaders, who made a triumphal entry into the Rumanian capital, Bucharest, where they were welcomed by the pro-German minority headed by the great Rumanian landowners Carp and Marghiloman. King Ferdinand and his government established themselves at the provincial town of Jassy.

THE AGONY OF DEFEAT

Rumania now entered a period of anguish which has been rarely paralleled in history. The Teutons and Bulgarians treated the conquered regions with great brutality, squeezing the rich country dry and leaving the wretched inhabitants just enough to keep them from starvation, so that they might continue to work and raise foodstuffs as the slaves of their conquerors. The plight of the eastern districts still under Rumanian control was little better. These districts were crowded with hundreds of thousands of refugees from the conquered regions, no adequate supplies came in from Russia, and conditions soon became appalling. The straits to which Rumania was reduced were thus described in a message of Queen Marie to America: "In these days, when the whole world is aflame, when those who struggle for an ideal see such terrible and inexplicable things, I, the Queen of a stricken country, raise my voice, and I make an appeal to those who are always ready to aid where disasters and sorrows have penetrated. Here, in Rumania, there are disasters and sorrows without end. Death in all forms has stricken the country: the sword, flame, invasion, famine, and sickness. Our land has been taken away from

us; our hope destroyed; cities and villages devastated. That which yet remains to us of our country is inundated by the masses of population saved from the brutalities of the enemy. Our hospitals are full. We need food. In vain do we struggle against the tempest which crushes us. But we do not lose our courage; we will not recognize ourselves as conquered. Step by step we struggle for the blessed ground of our dear native

relations between Rumania and Russia had become distinctly strained. The reader will remember how, with the Revolution, the various non-Russian elements of the former Czarist Empire had asserted themselves and demanded either autonomy or independence. Bessarabia had been no exception to the rule, the Rumanian element in that province expressing a wish to join the neighboring Motherland. This, however, did not please



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A Group of Rumanian Refugees

land. No sacrifice is too difficult or too great, but terrible famine is smiting us in the face."

CAUGHT BETWEEN TWO FIRES

Bad as Rumania's situation was at the close of 1916, it was destined to become even worse. The Russian Revolution of March, 1917, at first aroused hope, but the Rumanians quickly saw that the Russian armies would not fight and that they could not count on even the scant military aid which they had hitherto received from their mighty eastern "Ally." Furthermore, the increasing disorganization of Russia soon cut off the few supplies which had hitherto reached Rumania from the Western Powers and America.

In fact, by the autumn of 1917, political

the Kerensky government, and when, in November, the Bolsheviks came into power, they were even more hostile to Rumania. Rumania, with its King and its conservative government, was a "bourgeois" enemy that must not be tolerated one moment longer than was absolutely necessary. The first step toward the Bolshevizing of Rumania proper was the Bolshevizing of Bessarabia. Accordingly, large Red Guard forces entered the province and the character of their occupation may be gauged from this description of an English journalist in January, 1918: "Those who saw Bessarabia before the Bolsheviks got the upper hand would not recognize this wealthy province. Country houses are reduced to ruins, old trees in parks are cut down, cattle killed and horses lying dead along the roads.



King Ferdinand of Rumania Reviewing a Battery of Artillery

An aspect of desolation reigns over the entire country."

Against this Bolshevik tyranny the population finally revolted and appealed to Rumania for aid. Recognizing that the Bolshevik Government of Russia was its implacable foe, and solicitous for the salvation of its oppressed Bessarabian kinsmen, the Rumanian Government ordered its armies to occupy Bessarabia, and this was quickly accomplished, the population hailing the Rumanian troops as deliverers and the disorganized Red Guards

tween Rumania and the Central Powers at Buften, near Bucharest, and that instrument was amplified into a regular peace treaty signed on the 7th of May.

UNDER THE TEUTON YOEK

No harsher terms were ever imposed upon a beaten nation than those which the Teutonic Empires forced Rumania to sign. It is not too much to say that, while Rumania kept the technical appearance of sovereignty, she



© Bain Photo Service.

Bucharest, Rumania's Capital, Which Was Invaded by the Germans

offering little real resistance. Lenin and Trotsky broke off diplomatic relations with Rumania and threatened war, but they soon accomplished their purpose in a more subtle way. The Bolshevik government was already beginning those peace negotiations with Germany which were to culminate with the treaty of Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918. The Brest-Litovsk settlement of course spelled Rumania's doom. Now that Russia had quit the war, Rumania was left absolutely "in the air" and could do nothing but surrender to the Teutonic enemy. Accordingly, on March 5, just two days after the Brest-Litovsk treaty, a preliminary peace agreement was signed be-

really ceased to be an independent state. Rumania was compelled to cede her strategic western frontier to Austria-Hungary, thus laying herself absolutely at the mercy of her mighty neighbor. She also had to cede the province of Dobrudja, her sole outlet to the Black Sea, thus becoming a land-locked nation. And this was only the beginning; for Rumania was not even left the mistress of her own house. The Central Powers obtained practically perpetual control over Rumania's whole economic life. The "surplus" of her rich harvests was pledged to the Central Powers during two years, and for seven years thereafter if the Central Powers so de-

sired. Over her great oil fields Rumania lost all control. The oil fields were turned over to an Austro-German holding-company, with a ninety-nine years' lease and a free hand regarding both production and export. The company's monopoly was to be absolute, all foreign holdings to be expropriated. Similar controls were granted over the other sinews of Rumanian economic life, such as railroads, harbors, etc. The enforcement of these treaty stipulations was to be guaranteed by the presence of a Teutonic army of occupation maintained at Rumania's expense.

Down to almost the close of the year 1918 Rumania was bowed to the dust beneath the heavy Teuton yoke. A French officer who left Rumania shortly after the peace with Germany thus described conditions: "At present the Germans are pillaging the country from one end to the other. It is no exaggeration to say that everything in Rumania which could be exported has been seized and sent into Germany. Even door handles and window catches, bells and kitchen utensils, have been carried away. But that is not all. The Germans have carried off all the linen, and the civilians have been allowed to keep only two sets of underwear. A certain number of people have, however, been allowed to keep their belongings by bribing the German officials with a liberal gift of wine. All the timber in Rumania has been taken away, whole forests having been cut down, and the Germans have even raised the parquetry off the floors in private dwelling houses. . . . The whole of the rural population is compelled to work. This embraces all males between the ages of 14 and 60, and all females between the ages of 14 and 50. Each peasant is only able to attend to his own land a certain

number of days; the rest of his time must be devoted to the authorities, who utilize the peasant as they wish at a ridiculous wage. The decree further enables the authorities to remove whatever agricultural machinery they see fit to remove from the land of any owner and to use it on other land."

RUMANIA IN TRANSITION

From this abyss of slavery Rumania was rescued by the collapse of the Teutonic Empires at the close of 1918. The Teuton-Bulgar armies of occupation evacuated the kingdom, and in a short time hastily improvised Rumanian forces were actually occupying the Austro-Hungarian territories which had been promised Rumania by the Entente when she had entered the war two years before. Nevertheless, despite her hopes for the future, Rumania's present plight was a gloomy one. To begin with, at least 700,000 Rumanians—nearly 10 per cent. of her entire population—were either killed in the war or died of disease and starvation. And these vital losses had since been largely increased, since Rumania was stripped bare by the Germans and could obtain little or nothing from the outside world. The Rumanians were also embroiled with their neighbors, fighting the Bolsheviks in the east, the Hungarians on the west, standing guard against the Bulgarians in the south, and on bad terms with their former allies, the Serbs, over the disputed possession of the Banat of Temesvar, claimed by both parties. Under these distressing conditions it was not surprising to hear that there had been a certain amount of social unrest among the Rumanian masses, made desperate by long suffering and despairing of a better future.

SERBIA

By Florence Earle Coates

When the heroic deeds that mark our time
Shall, in far days to come, recorded be,
Men, much forgetting, shall remember
thee,
Thou, central martyr of the Monster-Crime,
Who kept thy soul clear of the ooze and
slime—
The quickstands of deceit and perjury—
A living thing, unconquered still and free,
Through superhuman sacrifice sublime.

O Serbia! amid thy ruins great,
Love is immortal: 'there's an end to hate,
Always there will be dawn, though dark
the night,
Look up, thou tragic Glory! Even now,
The thorny round that binds thy bleeding
brow
Is as a crown irradiating light!

From *Collected Poems*, Houghton Mifflin Company.

SLAV VERSUS ITALIAN

The Creation of a Greater Jugoslav State Causes Conflict with Italy Over Dalmatia

THE SHATTERED HOUSE OF THE JUGOSLAVS

THE Jugoslavs are the most striking example of racial confusion in the Balkans and in what used to be the Empire of the Hapsburgs. As far back as the sixth and seventh centuries countless hordes of Slavonic barbarians flooded southeastern Europe. They were at that time a relatively homogeneous group, but the mountains in which they settled acted as gigantic barriers which marked off group from group. The Bulgarians, for instance, broke away entirely from the parent stock and became a separate type, while in the north the Slovenes came under German influence. But the main body of the South Slavs never split up irremediably. Nevertheless circumstances tended to cause serious differences. The tribes that settled in Dalmatia on the Adriatic, and in the region just to the north, Croatia-Slavonia, received Christianity and civilization from Rome. The Jugoslavs of the Balkan interior (Serbia) took their Christianity and civilization from Byzantine Constantinople. The result was that the modern Croats became Roman Catholic with a western European point of view, while the modern Serbs became Greek Orthodox with an eastern European point of view.

Of these various Jugoslav groups the Croats were the first to develop a state of any power. It lasted for a very brief period, however, and soon fell under the control of the Magyars of Hungary. The Dalmatian Croats were separated from their northern kinsmen and from their Serb brethren by a range of almost impassable mountains, and were too much scattered along their narrow strip of coastland ever to attain political unity. Consequently most of them fell under the rule of the Venetian Republic. The Serbs developed in the fourteenth century a really powerful empire which, under their Emperor

Stephen Dushan, dominated the whole Balkan peninsula. But after Dushan's death the whole empire fell to pieces, and the Serb branch of the Jugoslav race sank under the iron tyranny of the Turk. The Croats saved themselves from a similar fate only by placing themselves under the protection of the Hapsburgs. The Turkish conquest dealt a terrible blow to Jugoslav unity. Not only were the Serbs persecuted in a merciless and savage way, but a large part of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which lay between Serbia and Croatia, turned Mohammedan. So fanatical did they become that for a long time they lost all sense of solidarity with the Jugoslav race.

THE RESURRECTION OF SERBIA

The flame of nationalism spreading from France to the rest of Europe in the nineteenth century kindled Serbia in 1804. A great national rebellion broke out which did not rest until Serbia had thrown off the yoke of Turkey in 1830. At that time Serbia became autonomous, and forty-nine years later it became an independent national state. This liberty was won largely with the aid of Russia, who was pushing her way into the Balkans by means of her Pan-Slav doctrines. Slowly the new Serbian state grew in power and prosperity, until by the end of the nineteenth century she looked upon herself as the great Jugoslav leader and began to dream of uniting Serbs everywhere into one great Jugoslav state.

SERBIA'S "GREAT IDEA"

The Jugoslav race was scattered. Some lived in the independent but impoverished little mountain kingdom of Montenegro. Some were under the military occupation of Austria-Hungary in the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some were under Magyar do-

minion in Croatia-Slavonia. Some were under Austrian rule in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, Dalmatia, and Küstenland. Some were in the southern districts of Hungary, especially in the Banat of Temesvar. About 3,000,000 were in the independent kingdom of Serbia. A race scattered in many fragments, mostly oppressed by the Hapsburgs. What glory there would be in reuniting all these fragments! This became the avowed aim of

territory at the expense of tottering Turkey. This "Austrophile" policy inspired Serbia's foreign policy under the Obrenovitch kings, Milan and Alexander, down to 1903. In that year the Austrophile policy came to a tragic and bloody end. A palace revolution resulted in the murder of the king and queen. Peter, head of the rival dynasty of Karageorgevitch which had fought the Obrenovitch for supremacy, ascended the throne and with him



Photo by J. Hare.

A Bird's-Eye View of Monastir

Captured by the Bulgarians in 1915, and recaptured by the Serbians in 1916 after a bitter struggle.

Serbia. The "Great Idea" of that little kingdom was to rival the great empire of Stephen Dushan in the old days. It was an ambitious dream, yet Serbia is a land of great expectations. But the Serb imperialists, although united on the ultimate end of creating a Pan-Serbian state, disagreed as to the means. Some thought that there was no hope of ever absorbing Austria-Hungary's Yugoslav provinces. The best policy, they said, was to cultivate the friendship of this mighty northern neighbor. She might help Serbia acquire Balkan

the Russophile policy began. The revolution which had placed Peter on the throne had been backed by Russia. And now Serbia turned to the great Slavic empire for aid in attaining her Pan-Serbian ideals.

THE STRUGGLE WITH AUSTRIA

But Serbia was not alone in desiring the union of Yugoslav races. By far the greater number of Yugoslavs were under Hapsburg domination. A large party of Austrian im-

perialists, among them the heir to the throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, were aiming at incorporating what Jugoslavs there were outside of the Empire into Austria-Hungary. The new Russophile policy of Serbia alarmed this group. Austria did everything in her power to break the rising spirit of Serbia, but this only intensified anti-Austrian feeling and drove the Serbs still closer into Russia's arms. Austria was alarmed. She

nexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Belgrade *Politika* wrote: "Europe must take note that the Serbian people still thirst for revenge." And the *Mali Journal* exclaimed between black mourning borders: "The day of vengeance must arrive! The feverish efforts of Serbia to organize her army are a token of this accounting to come, as is the hatred of the Serbian people for the neighboring monarchy."



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A Serbian Camp in the Balkans

threw down the gauntlet in 1908, by annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina, the treasured "first step" of Serb imperialism. Serbia was wild with fury, and Russia too. But Germany shook the mailed fist, stood "in shining armor beside her ally," and the Slavs had to submit. Thereafter it was the avowed ambition of Serbia to disrupt Austria for the erection of a Pan-Serb empire. It was for both countries a duel to the death. Both carried on a savage campaign of propaganda for the ruin of the other. The frenzied condition of Serbian public opinion during the years immediately preceding the war may be seen from the following press comments. On October 8, 1910, the second anniversary of Austria's an-

THE MURDER OF THE ARCHDUKE

Serbia frankly avowed her ambition to annex all Yugoslav territories, whether owned by Austria or by Turkey. From Turkey she actually took the Yugoslav populations of Macedonia in the Balkan wars of 1912-13. This encouraged her to fresh hopes. In the spring of 1913 the Belgrade *Balkan* wrote: "War between Austria-Hungary and Serbia is inevitable. We have dismembered the Turkish Empire; we shall likewise rend Austria asunder." The *Zastava* admitted in April, 1914, that "Serbia incites the Austro-Hungarian Serbs to revolution." Higher and higher rose the flames of national passion.

Under these conditions it is not surprising that a member of a patriotic Serbian organization, the Narodna Odbrana, although an Austrian subject, shot and killed the heir to the Austrian throne, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and his wife. This was the signal for the great European catastrophe.

SERBIA—THE BELGIUM OF THE BALKANS

The murder at Serajevo was followed by an audacious ultimatum from Austria which threatened to make a vassal state out of Serbia. Backed up by Russia, the little country resisted. A few days later, in the last few days in July, Austrian troops were invading her territory. While the titanic struggles were raging on the Western and Eastern Fronts, Serbia was defending her territory as a tiger defends its cubs. For five months its little army of 300,000 men fought heroically against the Austrian troops and kept them at bay. But on December 2nd, after the Serbian army had been worn down after months of savage conflict, the Austro-Hungarian troops captured Belgrade. It was then that Serbia became the scene of one of the most horrible visitations of the war. The terrible disease of typhus spread among the helpless people. Men, women, and children were falling under the scourge of pestilence. All the hospitals were crowded with the dying. Every public building was used for the sick and wounded. The country roads were thick with stricken people too weak to crawl to the hospitals. So many of the population were stricken that there were not enough left to dig graves, and thousands upon thousands of corpses lay exposed and unburied in the cemeteries. At the same time Austria began to institute a policy of frightfulness. In Bosnia and Herzegovina hundreds of Serb families were evicted and sent wandering into diseased Serbia or impoverished Montenegro. Against these horrible conditions the Serbs rallied in an excess of despairing heroism. With the aid of American doctors typhus was brought under control. Then the Serbian army turned upon the Austrian conquerors and hurled them back from Belgrade.

A WAR OF EXTERMINATION

Toward the end of 1915 it became clear that the struggle between Serbia and Austria-

Hungary was no mere war as modern history knows it, but a primitive and savage grapple to the death. The vastly superior German and Austrian armies closed in upon Serbia like a vise. In October the enemy once more attacked Belgrade and under their fierce bombardment the streets of the city were strewn with the mutilated bodies of men, women and children. But against this terrible attack the brave Serbians still held out. The whole world applauded their tenacious resistance which forced the enemy to fight for the capi-



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Prince Alexander Greeting Serbian Officers

The Regent of Serbia is talking to his Austrian-Serb officers. These men surrendered to the Russians and came around to fight with the Serbs for the freedom of their race.

tal literally street by street. As Germans, Austrians, and Bulgarians closed in on all sides of the unhappy little country, women, children, and old men took part in its defense. The civil population fought as desperately as the soldiers. There was not a single Serbian village which the Bulgarians entered, except in Macedonia, where they were not received by bombs and hand grenades from the hands of the civil population. As a result the Bulgarians began to exterminate whole Serbian villages, and when the Serbian army was forced to retreat, the whole Serbian population in those sections had to retreat with them. On the long muddy roads was strung out an end-

less procession moving southward, whither nobody knew; a procession of gun carriages, carts loaded with war material, conveyances of all sorts bearing women, children, old men, the sick and the wounded. Now and then flocks of sheep and droves of pigs could be seen, followed by soldiers walking side by side with peasants. It was the exodus of an entire people.

THE CRUSHING OF SERBIA

Under the powerful blows of General von Mackensen and his allies, little Serbia col-

fled before the merciless enemy. The famous American physician, Dr. Ryan, in cabling to this country for help remarked: "Life has no more value here than dust in the streets." Madame Losanitch, the wife of a professor in the University of Belgrade, sent a dramatic letter, brought to Italy by airplane, in which she said: "When I look back I see all these people creeping along like a funeral cortège, the procession stretching away out of sight; and like that we walked over the desert mountains of Montenegro. So many have died on the way—ill, falling from starvation, and we left



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Heavy Serbian Field Artillery in Action

It was such guns as these which helped to make the Austrian invasion of Serbia end in disastrous failure. This artillery was manufactured in France by the Alsatian Schneider, who produced a type of gun equal to those made by the Krupps.

lapsed. By December, 1915, it was at the mercy of the victorious Central Powers. As in other sections, where Teuton victory was accompanied by unparalleled brutality, there followed a terrible tragedy. Men, women, and children fled from their homes into the frozen mountains, where thousands of them died of cold and hunger. Of the Serbian army of 250,000 men, only about 50,000 escaped the clutches of the enemy. Over the snow-laden mountain passes some half million refugees

them. And now we are at the sea, and there are no ships to escape in, and behind us are the Austrians coming down. We are terribly nervous. Why does nobody send help? And why does nobody come to save us? We are watching the people starving slowly."

THE FATE OF MONTENEGRO

While Serbia was thus crucified by the Teutons and their allies, other portions of the

Jugoslav family were faring no better. At the very outbreak of the war the Montenegrins fought with all the intrepidity of mountaineers. Against the onslaughts of the Turks the hardy warriors of the "Black Mountains" held out for more than a year and a half. But as the enemy's forces grew more and more powerful, the little army of Montenegro began to lose ground. The country was without food. And now thousands of Serbians, their country defeated and ruined, poured in through the snowy mountain passes. To escape a fate similar to Serbia's, King Nicholas of Montenegro advised his people to surrender. As a last measure he sent for General Martinovitch, his army commander, an opponent of surrender, and asked him to raise a force to defend the approaches to the capital. The general was unable to muster more than 1,200 men. The number was pitifully insufficient. King Nicholas saw no way out but to surrender. In January, 1916, he opened parleys with Austria, relying upon her promises to be generous with Montenegro. When the discussions were actually begun King Nicholas was stunned by the harshness of the Austrian demands, which aimed at reducing his realm to a vassal of Austria-Hungary. The Allied peoples were shocked and somewhat disheartened by this mournful incident. They urged Montenegro to hold out. But the King wrote to the *Paris Journal's* correspondent: "My situation has become untenable. I am fighting against an enemy ten times superior in number to my troops, who are brave beyond description, but they have not eaten for five days. What can I do under such conditions? If the Allies do not come to our rescue, if their fleets do not attack the Austrian army from behind, I do not know what is to become of us. What is to be done? What is to be done? Tell your people if food is not sent at once I will not be able to hold out." By February the King and his family were refugees in France and all of Montenegro had surrendered to Austria.

THE JUGOSLAV UNION

Yet amidst these unparalleled disasters to the Yugoslavs everywhere, the Serbian dream of a united Yugoslavia did not pale for a moment. Equipped anew by the Entente,

Serbian troops once more hurled themselves at the enemy. And in the meantime Serbian diplomatists were laboring untiringly for the erection of a Greater Serbia under the rule of Crown Prince Alexander. So great was this desire for a Yugoslav union that thousands of Croats and Slovenes fighting in the Austrian armies surrendered voluntarily to their Slavic brethren. In the early days of August, 1917, representatives of all Yugoslav groups met at Corfu to effect the preliminaries of a Yugoslav state. In this lovely island, in sight of the blue Ionian Sea, leaders of the now enslaved Serbia and Montenegro, as well as of the unredeemed Yugoslavs in Austria, met in a great national assembly. There in their own Serbian tongue these sons of Serbia echoed their praise of the brave army which through all perils and sufferings had held out so bravely, and undertook the unification of all Yugoslav peoples. This new state was to comprise Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and the eastern part of Istria. But here there was foreshadowed a complication which was to cause dissension among the Allies themselves. On the Dalmatian coast the interests and aspirations of the Yugoslavs collided with the interests and aspirations of the Italians.

THE DISPUTED ADRIATIC

The borderland between Latin and Slav along the Adriatic coast is a rugged broken band of jutting peninsulas and rocky islands, lying between the crest of a high mountain range and the broad expanse of the Adriatic Sea. So closely do the mountains hug the sea that there is very little coastal plain and only a few large valleys. The Adriatic coast is not a geographical unit. It is divided into a series of isolated regions. These are far more connected with their respective hinterlands than with each other. For centuries this coastline has been the battleground of Latin and Slav. Under the Roman Empire the east coast was thoroughly Latin, but in the eighth century of our era the racial complexion of the region was radically altered. The crest of the huge Slav wave which had just submerged the Balkan hinterland rolled over the mountains and down to the Adriatic Sea. Beneath this Slav deluge the old Latin population was

almost entirely overwhelmed. A few centuries later Latinism was largely revived by the Venetian conquest of Dalmatia. The blood of the inhabitants was not much modified by this important event, but the Adriatic Slavs were so backward that they were insensibly veneered with the higher culture of the Italians. Most of the upper classes became consciously Italian. So things remained until the nineteenth century, when nationalism roused the Jugoslavs of Dalmatia to racial and self-consciousness. The result was a steady decline of Italianism all along the east

coast against each other and profiting by their quarrels. Especially, since 1866, the Austrian Government lost no opportunity of persecuting the Italians, and officially encouraged the immigration of thousands of Jugoslavs into Dalmatia. The predominantly Slavic character of the Dalmatian coast today is thus directly due to Austrian anti-Italian activity.

ITALY: THE THIRD SUITOR

From the very beginning of the bloody conflict it became clear that the destiny of



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The Ex-Kaiser and Archduke Ferdinand of Serbia

The assassination of the Archduke was the indirect cause of the war.

coast of the Adriatic. This kindled a fierce racial animosity between the two peoples inhabiting the region. The Italians, relatively few in numbers but composing the social and intellectual aristocracy of the land, desperately defended their privileged position. On the other hand, the Slavs invoked the principle of the rights of the majority to establish their supremacy. The Austrian Government, which had gained most of the Adriatic coast at the Vienna Congress, pursued its traditional policy of "divide and rule," pitting the two

the Adriatic was at stake. At first the warring protagonists were two in number—the Teuton and the Slav. The Teuton was seeking to crush the Jugoslavs once for all. This would bring the whole Balkan Peninsula, together with its Adriatic shore, solidly under Teuton domination. On the other hand, the Slav, incarnated by Serbia, endeavored to disrupt Austria, unify all the Jugoslavs into one great state, and obtain an outlet to the sea by gaining the entire Adriatic coast from Istria to Albania. But soon a third rival arose

to challenge the ambitions of the other two. Italy ardently desired the possession of the east Adriatic coast, and Italy was afraid that unless she entered the European War her Adriatic interests would be neglected, whichever side won the victory. She immediately began to negotiate for her entrance into the war on the side of the Allies. However, these negotiations, conducted in the spring of 1915, aroused alarm in Serbia. To placate this powerful Latin rival, the Serbian Government

secret treaty with Italy on April 26, 1915. This treaty recognized Italy's claims, and gave her complete control over the Adriatic coast. Not only did she receive the entire Istrian Peninsula, including Trieste, together with most of the islands off the coast of southern Dalmatia, but she was also promised a protectorate over Albania. This treaty if carried out would give Italy so complete a mastery of the whole Adriatic coast that the Slav hinterland could gain access to the sea only at



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Mostar in Herzegovina

Where more than 200 persons were killed and wounded June 30, 1914, as a result of the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand at Serajevo.

offered Italy Istria, despite the Slovene hinterland of Trieste. Serbian public opinion, however, demanded all the remaining Austro-Hungarian coast, both as essentially Yugoslav territory and as indispensable sea-frontage for the projected Pan-Serb Empire. Italy's claims to Dalmatia were scouted with indignation.

THE SECRET TREATY OF 1915

The Entente needed Italy's help, however, and felt obliged to make concessions to Italian feeling. Without the knowledge and consent of their ally Serbia, the Entente concluded a

Italy's pleasure. Bitter was the wrath of the Yugoslavs when the secret leaked out. A large part of the territory thus ceded to Italy was inhabited by Yugoslavs. "Dalmatia," cried the semi-official Serbian organ, *Samouprava*, "is not Italian! It is geologically, historically, and ethnically Serbo-Croatian. If Italy wishes to share fraternally with Serbia the Adriatic Sea on the shores of which live 700,000 Slavs as against 18,000 Italians, Serbia will be greatly pleased and will not fail to cultivate what the ancient Italian civilization shall have left behind as a heritage. But Serbia will not consent to having this Slav

land pass from Austrian domination to another domination—that of Italy.” The non-official press was much more violent in its attacks on this arrangement. The Serb Premier, M. Pashitch, himself declared in Parliament Serbia’s categorical refusal to be bound by the treaty. The question of Dalmatia, he said, would be settled after the war.

JUGOSLAV HATRED FOR ITALY

Among the Austrian Slavs Italy’s policy aroused the most bitter and fanatical hatred. Not only among the Croats and the Slovenes, who were immediately involved in the international deal, but also among the Czechoslovaks, who were coming to feel closely allied with the Yugoslavs, anti-Italian feeling grew intense. Austrian Yugoslav and Czech regiments, which were useless against the Russians, fought fiercely against the Italians. It was a Croat general, Borojevic, who commanded the Austrian armies on the Italian front. This Yugoslav hatred kindled a similar hostility in Italy. Blow was returned for blow, and down to the close of 1917 the relations between Italy and the Yugoslavs were thoroughly hostile.

TEMPORARY CONCILIATION

But the Allies could not afford to be thus divided. A common peril was threatening both the Italians and the Yugoslavs. Serbia and Montenegro, as we have seen, were lying prostrate in the dust. The heavy jackboot of the Teutonic conqueror was treading their helpless bodies. Now Italy, too, was threatened. The crushing disaster at Caporetto, in the autumn of 1917, opened the gates of Italy to the enemy. Hordes of Austro-Hungarian troops poured into the land, overrunning northeastern Italy and threatening Venice. Russia had already collapsed. The Allies were weakened. The complete defeat of Italy would release thousands of Teuton troops for the Western front, which would menace the whole cause of the Entente with ruin. It was this fear of an Austro-German victory which induced both the Italians and the Yugoslavs to hold their passions in check. Throughout 1917 attempts were made at some sort of conciliation. Premier Pashitch

of Serbia visited London, where he interviewed Italian diplomatists. Then he went to Rome direct. As a result of these interviews between representatives of Italy and the Yugoslav nation, the press of both camps began to prepare the masses for some compromise. The Milanese newspapers, the *Corriere della Sera* and the *Secolo*, carried on editorial campaigns educating the Italian public to a better understanding of the Yugoslavs. Italian ministers began to make conciliating speeches. Said Signor Bissolati: Italy had practically broken up the Triple Alliance by her declaration of neutrality when the Central Empires declared war on Serbia. How, then, could Italy, who was fighting Serbia’s oppressors and who had made so many sacrifices for the prosecution of the war, not wish for a peace which would harmonize her aspirations with those of the Serbians and the Yugoslavs? Toward the last week in March the Serbian Premier was able to exclaim to a representative of the Italian *Corriere della Sera*, “I rejoice at the position which public opinion in your country is taking up at the present time!” That same week arrangements were made for a conference at Rome to harmonize the quarrel. This conference, attended by numerous representatives of both parties concerned, came to a general compromise in which the rights of nationalities were recognized, and the more disputable points deferred until the Peace Conference should meet. The representatives pledged themselves “in the interest of good and sincere relations between the two peoples in the future, to solve amicably the various territorial controversies on the basis of the principle of nationality and the right of peoples to decide their own fate, and in such a way as not to injure the vital interests of the two nations such as shall be defined at the moment of peace.” Thus for a while the feud between Slav and Italian was postponed. The Conference was in no sense official. It was a mere gathering of private persons. There were still groups in both camps which urged extreme policies. The attitude of the Italian Government was ambiguous. Orlando publicly indorsed the sentiments of the Conference, but he never confirmed the liberal interpretations of his speech. On the other hand, Foreign Minister Sonnino made no secret of his determination to hold out for the fullest

realization of the secret treaty of 1915. Nevertheless the strain between the two countries was, for a while, lessened.

THE SUFFERING OF THE SERBS

In the meantime the terrible plight of the Yugoslavs everywhere was not at all diminished, but became perhaps even worse than before. Entire districts of Bosnia and Herzegovina were depopulated and devastated. They looked as if some swift and merciless typhoon had swept over them. Thousands of the inhabitants were deported, and many of them died in internment camps. Many of those who remained were massacred by Austrian soldiers. In other districts the population was dying of starvation. The cattle had been carried off or consumed by the Austrians. All males between 15 and 60 were enrolled in the Austrian Army. The work in the fields was done by women and old men. But there was so little to plant and so few crops that the inhabitants were forced to eat grass and hedges which once were used as food for swine. A policy of terror was undertaken by the Austrian Government. Schoolmasters, priests, political leaders, and local leaders of the peasants were imprisoned and often hanged. This happened even in the Yugoslav provinces under Austrian rule. In Serbia itself, now occupied by the Central Powers, terror reigned unchecked. The Social Democratic Party of Serbia, in a formal complaint handed to Camille Huysmans, secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, related how Serbia presented the appearance of a huge graveyard or hospital, incapable of further resistance. The Austro-Hungarian troops were looting, robbing, suppressing all cultural and political life. Innocent people were thrown into jail or hung for the slightest offense against the brutal and whimsical code of the conquerors.

THE RIOTS AT AGRAM

All these acts of brutality on the part of the Central Powers served only to drive the Yugoslavs further and further from Austria-Hungary. Their hatred for the Hapsburgs became so intense that in the face of all this suppression the Yugoslav members of the Austrian Parliament called a national congress at

Agram, the capital of Croatia, there to take steps for organizing the Yugoslavs as one nation. All the delegates of Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and of the Bosnians, together with a number of Roman Catholic clergy, came to Agram on the appointed day in March, 1918. The Hungarian Government knew of the time and place at which this congress would be held. It tried to get the local Croatian Government to suppress the meeting. But the Croatian Government showed no enthusiasm for the project of breaking up the assembly. Whereupon the Hungarian Premier, Dr. Wekerle, ordered the Minister of War to suppress the meeting by the use of troops. This was done with great brutality. The population of Agram was incensed. Demonstrations were held in the streets. Processions marched through the city headed by the Serbo-Croat deputies to the Viennese Parliament, and by the representatives in the local diets of Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Istria. The masses threw up barricades and fought the militia. Enraged by the brutality of the Magyar soldiers, the crowds broke through the military cordon, made their way to the post office and the bureau of Hungarian railways, and wrecked the two buildings. All day long these riots lasted. The embittered people were pouring out their wrath on the heads of their oppressors. Only when the Hungarian troops were withdrawn did some semblance of order reign once more. Despite this incident, the assembly was not dispersed before it had adopted the following resolution: "After having discussed the general political and national situation, the meeting is agreed as to the necessity for a concentration of all the parties and groups which, from the point of view of national self-government, demand the creation of a national and independent State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs founded on the basis of democracy."

THE NATIONAL WAR AIMS OF SERBIA

The passionate desire of the Yugoslavs for union was embodied not only in these unofficial assemblies, which were preludes to the self-realization of the race. In August, 1918, just four years after the war had been declared, the Serbian Government issued an official declaration of war aims. "Serbia's first

and chief aim," said this declaration, "is the union of Yugoslavs (the Serbo-Croats and Slovenes) who live in compact masses and on one continuous territory, some within the frontiers of the kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro, some in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy—she wants them united in one, free, independent, and national state. . . . Secondly, with regard to the question of the Balkans themselves, Serbia holds her old standpoint—'the Balkans for the Balkan peoples.'" In these aims it was definitely intimated that Serbia must have an outlet to the sea.

THE RESURRECTION OF THE FEUD

This desire for an outlet to the sea was the very point over which Latin and Slav had clashed from the beginning of the war. And now it appeared that the temporary settlement of April was very, very temporary indeed. The great July offensive of the Allies quickly removed the danger of a Teutonic victory. Austria-Hungary was visibly skirting the edge of an abyss, and seemed ready at any moment to go crashing to ruin below. Neither Italy nor the Yugoslavs needed longer to be mutually conciliatory now. It was the danger of Caporetto which had drawn the two races together. Now that the bond of common danger was gone, old rancors and conflicting aspirations once more had room for free play. For weeks a controversy raged in the Italian press over Sonnino's avowed intention of pushing Italy's claims to their most extreme point. At the same time the Yugoslavs were gathering their forces together for a determined fight. As the war was drawing to a close it became apparent that these two allies would soon become bitter enemies. In October the Central Empires collapsed, and with that momentous event the crisis between the Italians and the Yugoslavs came to a head. By the terms of the armistice concluded between Italy and Austria-Hungary on November 3d, Italy obtained the right to occupy a zone of Austro-Hungarian territory which corresponded exactly with the regions promised her in full sovereignty by the Secret Treaty of April 26, 1915. This was immediately interpreted by the Yugoslavs to mean that Italy was determined to stand by the terms of the Secret Treaty at all costs, and to reënforce

her documentary claims by actual occupation. This the Yugoslavs were determined to prevent.

THE JUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT

When the Austro-Italian armistice was signed, the Yugoslavs were already prepared by years of education and months of organization to act quickly. As the Austrian authorities were ejected all along the coast of the Adriatic, the Yugoslavs set up a Provisional Government. This new body controlled large numbers of troops composed partly of mutinous Austrian-Jugoslav regiments, and partly of Serbo-Croat legions pushed hastily up from the Balkan front. Boldly and swiftly the new government intrenched itself in power. Its most striking act was to acquire the Austro-Hungarian Navy and merchant shipping. Most of the sailors of the Austrian fleet were Adriatic Slavs. When the Hapsburg Empire collapsed they gladly turned the ships and their services over to the new national authorities. This surrender naturally convinced the Italians still further in their belief that the Yugoslavs were essentially an enemy power, in conflict with the aims of the Allies. Such was the state of affairs when the Italian military and naval authorities appeared to take possession of the districts assigned to them by the Austro-Italian armistice of November 3d. In the centers of Italian population such as Trieste and Zara the Italian troops were received with boundless enthusiasm, but elsewhere the attitude of the Slavs was tense and sullen.

THE CLASH IN CARNIOLA

As the Italian troops occupied the territories assigned for their occupation by the armistice violent friction between them and the Slav populations occurred. But worse was soon to follow. The Italians, under pressure from imperialistic elements at home, now began to overstep the limits laid down by the armistice and to occupy districts still farther east. The first of these movements was in the mountainous country north of the Adriatic. The Italian troops crossed the line of the Julian Alps, moved down the valley of the Save and penetrated to the outskirts of Ljubljana (Laibach), the capital of the Aus-

trian province of Carniola and the national center of the Slovene branch of the Yugoslav race. In face of this new development, the Yugoslav Provisional Government took instant and drastic action. The Serbian commandant of Ljubljana informed the Italian general that he intended to oppose the Italian advance by force of arms, while the Yugoslav Government publicly announced that it was despatching 20,000 fresh troops to Ljubljana for the express purpose of defending the frontiers of Jugoslavia against Italy.

THE FRICTION IN FIUME

Soon the antagonism between Italians and Yugoslavs burst out at yet another point. The new center of trouble was further south, at Fiume, which is situated a short distance to the eastward of the Istrian Peninsula on the shores of the Croatian Gulf. It is an important trade center. It is the natural outlet for the Croatian and Hungarian hinterland to the sea, just as Trieste is the great outlet for Austria. The racial situation at Fiume is similar to that of Trieste. By the census of 1900 its 39,000 inhabitants were divided racially as follows: Italians, 17,000; Slavs, 15,000; Magyars, 2,500; Germans, 2,000. The Italians thus form the largest single element in the city's population. The surrounding country is almost purely Slav. The downfall of Austro-Hungarian authority in November gave rise to an unusually serious situation. Fiume had long been a disturbed city. A mutiny of Yugoslav regiments stationed there had occurred some time before, and public feeling had remained excited ever since.

The collapse of Hapsburg power thus unleashed suppressed forces which developed into an explosion of racial animosity between Slavs and Italians. Both sides appealed to their compatriots for aid, and the Italian majority voted for political union with Italy. Although Fiume lay outside the armistice zone of occupation, the Italian Government decided to heed the appeals of the Italians at Fiume and despatched a naval squadron, which arrived in Fiume on November 17, 1918. At the very hour when the Italian ships were dropping anchor in the harbor, Serbian regulars were entering the city from the land side. The situation became extremely acute. The

Jugoslavs proclaimed that the name Fiume was changed to the Slav name Rieka. Backed by superior naval and military power, the Italians demanded and obtained the withdrawal of the Serbians. They themselves now occupied the city. The Yugoslav Government could do nothing but protest to the Entente.

"The Yugoslav National Council," ran the concluding lines of the note issued to the Allies, "protests most emphatically against such acts of violence, which run counter to recognized international rules and deeply affect our life interest. No sooner freed from slavery, the inhabitants of the towns and villages occupied by the Italians are once more plunged into the despair of a foreign occupation that separates them from the united Yugoslav State to which they belong according to their own will and sentiment and also according to the principles of ethnography and geography. These inhabitants will under no circumstances consent to remain separated from their liberated home. The Yugoslav National Council repudiates all responsibility for the consequences which may result from these intolerable conditions. It has the honor to draw the full attention of the Allied Governments and of the Government of the United States to these crying events." In view of the fact that the Italian element in Fiume is the largest, it will be noticed that the Jugoslavs may be fully as well called "imperialistic" as the Italians.

Two days later the Yugoslav Government issued an order for partial military mobilization. Five classes were called to the colors. The mobilization orders ended with the words: "Your future happiness is at stake, and with it the most sacred duty of every citizen of the State of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs."

THE DANGER IN DALMATIA

Still farther south in Dalmatia, the tension between the Italians and Jugoslavs was of an equally dangerous nature. In accordance with the Austro-Italian armistice Italian forces occupied northern Dalmatia. The resulting effect upon the sentiment of the Yugoslav population can be gauged by the language of a second official protest issued by the Yugoslav Government at the end of November. After detailing certain incidents of the Italian

occupation of Fiume, the protest goes on to say: "In Dalmatia, things are, if possible, even worse. On November 2d, a national council was established for Dalmatia, being subject to the Central Council in Zagreb (Agram, the capital of Croatia and the seat of the Yugoslav Government). The temporary Italian occupation disregards and violates all terms of public and private right. The Italian governor dissolves schools en masse; the whole merchant marine in Dalmatian harbors was seized and sent to Italy, being declared Italian property on the ground of seizure during war. From Sibenik (Sebenico) alone, sixty merchant ships were taken and sent to Italy. The railways and telegraphs have also been seized. In Zadar (Zara) the Yugoslavs are exposed to the most brutal attacks by the Italian mob and the Italian soldiery. The exasperation of the Yugoslavs in all parts occupied by Italian troops has reached an acute state, and, if there is no quick interference by the Allies, especially by America, deplorable results will follow." From this diplomatic expression it was easy to see that an acute state of tension existed between Italy and Jugoslavia. Two great ambitions in the Adriatic had collided, and an ominous storm was brewing on the coast. The arrival of American troops at Trieste and Fiume temporarily smoothed the situation over, but this was merely a lull in the storm.

THE JUGOSLAV UNION

The collision of Italian and Yugoslav aims is the chief factor in the history of both peoples throughout the first half of the year 1919 down to the time of writing. While the controversy was raging, the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes pushed to a definite conclusion their age-long dream for union. Under Prince Alexander of Serbia all the branches of the Yugoslav race united into one kingdom on December 21, 1918. This new State was adhered to by the Montenegrins, who deposed King Nicholas and his family and declared their country united with the new Yugoslav entity. Abroad, the ex-King of Montenegro went about complaining that the Serbians had illegally and violently deprived him of his rights, and were holding his country by force of arms and by terroristic measures. "It ap-

pears," he said in an interview in Paris, "that a veritable reign of terror exists. Men, women, and children are executed without trial. Bombs are thrown into the houses of my supporters. Money is lavished like water to wean my children away from their allegiance." But apparently the Yugoslav State was founded upon a stronger basis than that alleged by the exiled monarch, for in the first week in February Secretary Lansing welcomed the Yugoslav Union in the name of the United States.

THE ITALIAN CRISIS

Although Italian and Yugoslav aspirations in the Adriatic clashed with great violence, the Italian people were by no means united as to the extent to which they should push their claims. Baron Sonnino was holding out for the fullest provisions of the Secret Treaty of April, 1915, plus a little territory not mentioned in the treaty. This extra territory included Fiume. Opposed to this policy were Nitti, Minister of the Treasury, and the famous Socialist Bissolati, who fought the attempts of the government to annex territory to which, in their opinion, Italy was not entitled. These internal disagreements in Italy were fought with the usual Latin passion and bitterness. Orlando, at that time Premier, supported the extreme annexationists. The first serious political result of the crisis was the resignation from the cabinet of all those ministers opposed to the imperialistic policy of Orlando and Sonnino at the opening of the new year, led by Bissolati.

THE INTERNATIONAL CRISIS

Meantime the struggle between Italy and Jugoslavia continued. In the press of the Allied countries a violent war of propaganda was carried on by both sides. Both sides trumpeted their defiance and their determination not to surrender or compromise. An example of the extreme attitude of the Yugoslavs is the statement given out by Dr. M. R. Vesnitch, Serbian Minister to France, in January of 1919: "Should the treaty secretly signed by England, France, Russia, and Italy in 1915, whereby Italy was to come into possession of the eastern coast of the Adriatic after the war, be confirmed by the Peace Confer-



Dusk Behind the Firing Lines

A patrol "resting up" after a hard day's work at the front.

ence, then Serbia would fight again, and fight to the finish. Serbia did not enter this war to become the vassal of any nation. She cannot agree to have Italy control the territory in question." On the other hand, Italy's extreme position was put in virulent and theatrical terms by the warrior-poet Gabriele d'Annunzio, who issued a manifesto in which he said: "Victorious Italy ought to have said clearly, steady in her discipline, firm in her

fitting. If necessary we will meet the new plot in the fashion of the Arditi [assault troops], a grenade in each hand and a knife between our teeth!"

In this sea of passion and conflict the one hope for both sides appeared to be President Wilson. To this tribunal the Jugoslavs appealed for arbitration on the matter of the disputed claims. The whole world watched each successive move with eager eyes. The



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The Screen for the Road

The camouflage in this picture is a transparent gauzy veil of brush and grass through which the troops could easily see.

will, concise in her affirmations: 'My frontiers on the east are marked by the Monte Valebiti and by the Dinaric Alps. All that band of countries . . . belongs to me.' After uncomplimentary allusions to England, France, and America, he goes on to ask what sort of peace will be imposed on Italy in the end. "A Gallic peace? A British peace? A star-spangled peace? Then, no! Enough! Victorious Italy—the most victorious of all the nations—victorious over herself and over the enemy—will have on the Alps and over her sea the *Pax Romana*, the only peace that is

Allies were hopelessly divided. Only a harmonious and amicable settlement of their differences could insure peace for the nations of the earth. The first reaction of the Italian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference to the proposal of the Jugoslavs that the Adriatic tangle be unraveled by President Wilson was one of obdurate refusal. Orlando delivered what amounted to an ultimatum: unless Fiume was given to Italy, he and his colleagues would withdraw from the Conference. The Entente and America must choose between Italy and the Jugoslavs. The Italian dele-

gation insisted that Fiume must go to Italy or the delegation would withdraw. Paris was intensely excited over the development of the crisis. Bitter feeling developed between Italy and the other Allies who wanted to settle matters amicably. America was sending food to Yugoslavia, and Italy was stopping its reaching its destination by a blockade. Whereupon America warned Italy that unless she lifted the blockade at once, Italy herself would receive no food.

THE BREAK AT PARIS

Thus matters continued in a state of tremendous tension. On April 23d President Wilson issued a note on the Italian-Yugoslav dispute. After reviewing the circumstances under which the Pact of London was signed in 1915, he pointed out that those circumstances no longer existed, and added: "Fiume must serve as the outlet of the commerce, not of Italy, but of the land to the north and northeast of that port—Hungary, Bohemia, Rumania, and the states of the new Yugoslav group. To assign Fiume to Italy would be to create the feeling that we have deliberately put the port, upon which all those countries chiefly depend for their access to the Mediterranean, in the hands of a power of which it did not form an integral part and whose sovereignty, if set up there, must inevitably seem foreign, not domestic or identified with the commercial and industrial life of the regions which the port must serve. It is for that reason no doubt that Fiume was not included in the Pact of London, but there definitely assigned to the Croatsians."

This note was a violent shock to the Italian delegates. They had not expected that the secret negotiations over boundaries would be dragged into the light of day. Orlando protested against it as an offense against Italy, as an attempt to set the Italian people against their government. On the same day on which the note was issued the Italian delegation notified the Conference that they would leave Paris at 2 o'clock the next day. That night, when Orlando and Sonnino returned to the Hotel Edward VII they were cheered wildly by the Italian colony there. In Rome, report had it, the names of Orlando and Sonnino were being cheered by huge crowds in the

street. All factions put aside their quarrels and united to defend the claims of Italy on the Adriatic. In Paris the atmosphere was charged with an electric thrill almost as great as that of the tense, tragic days of July, 1914.

THE CRISIS GROWS

Next day, April 24th, Orlando rushed back to Rome to feel the temper of the people and to confer with Parliament. He found unanimous support. Popular feeling ran high in favor of the Premier and against President Wilson. Great parades were held in the chief towns of Italy where the crowds cried: "*Viva Italia! Viva Fiume! Viva Dalmazia!*" often adding, "Long live America! Down with Wilson!" Orlando's return to Rome was a triumphal march. The dense masses shouted to him that he had done the right thing, and drew his car to the royal palace as if it were the chariot of some conquering hero. At the same time Sonnino had also returned to Rome and found a united Italy, all factions united to defend the extreme demands of the ministry. The Paris Conference was somewhat alarmed at the implications of the passionate nationalism and imperialism which Orlando and Sonnino had evoked. They made a proposal to put Fiume under the League of Nations for a period of years and to give the islands of the Adriatic and part of Dalmatia to Italy. This proposal Orlando placed before the Parliament, but only in a perfunctory way. He insisted that Fiume must go to Italy. At this the whole body, with the exception of the forty Socialist members, rose in a thunder of approval. "Viva Fiume! Viva Orlando! Annexation! Annexation!" they roared. And outside in the pouring rain a great crowd waited to cheer the extreme demands. In a few days the ministry brought the passionate, imaginative, picturesque, and powerful d'Annunzio to inflame the already excited masses into a frenzied fanaticism over Fiume.

CONFLICT AND COMPROMISE

In the meantime at Paris the Yugoslav delegation had prepared a memorandum for the Peace Conference in which the new South-Slav State laid out the basis for its claim to the Adriatic provinces in dispute. Dr.

Trumbitch, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the new Yugoslav State, and head of the Yugoslav delegation in Paris, delivered an address in which he put forth his country's claims. Wilson stood firmly for his avowed plan, and as Italy calmed down somewhat from its first excitement, Orlando returned to Paris. This time the Italian delegation seemed ready to meet the Yugoslav committee in some sort of compromise. A proposal was made to turn

Fiume into a buffer state and to compensate Italy for its loss by a mandate in Asia Minor. But despite all these attempts at reconciliation, Fiume remained a storm center. The Italian poet, d'Annunzio, led, very spectacularly, an expedition which occupied Fiume in defiance of the Peace Council. In December, 1919, the Council ended the matter by giving Fiume to Italy under certain restrictions.

NEUTRALITY IN IBERIA

Spain, Its Ships Sunk by Germans, Remains Neutral and Reaps Great Economic Benefits

A LAND IN TRANSITION

SPAIN was perhaps less affected by the war than any other part of Europe. Not only did it remain neutral throughout the great conflict, but its geographical position, remote from the centers of strife, did not involve it in those vexatious complications suffered by the other European neutrals, Switzerland, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries. For this reason, Spain continued on the course she was following when the war began, and internal questions retained their first claim on public attention.

SPAIN AND THE WAR

This does not mean that the Spanish people took no interest in the mighty struggle going on beyond their frontiers. On the contrary, a prodigious amount of discussion and heated controversy was aroused. Two very bitter groups of partisans quickly developed: the pro-Germans and the pro-Allies. The leaders of the pro-German party were to be found in the army, the church, the universities, and the aristocracy. Among men of these classes, it was rare to discover an individual with pro-Allied leanings. The army looked south towards Gibraltar, and longed for the defeat of the British, in occupation of the sacred soil of Spain; the church, and the vast clerical party, looked north to "atheistic"

France, and awaited with hope the vengeance of God upon that renegade daughter of the Church; the aristocracy remembered the proud days of Spanish colonial supremacy, and hoped for the defeat of the "dollar-mad Yankees," the latest state to humble Spanish colonial power.

Among the true intellectual leaders of Spain, however, dislike of German materialism, respect for England, and affection for France combined to produce a certain number of enthusiastic pro-Allies. To them, the continued neutrality of Spain was an abomination, and a betrayal of their own Latin civilization. It was not easy for these men to express themselves in Spain; and it is worthy of notice that the great Spanish novelist, Vicente Blasco Ibañez, whose *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* is perhaps the most scathing arraignment of the Germans which the war brought forth, does not choose to live in Spain. To these men the entry of the United States into the war was but another reason for Spain to do the same before it was too late. But most Spaniards fully expected a victory for the Germans until very late in 1918.

These groups were, however, confined to the educated classes. The great illiterate peasant mass, however, remained relatively passive and indifferent. They were actuated by but one strong feeling—determination to keep out of the war. The peasants were the backbone of the movement which determined

Spain's foreign policy throughout the European conflict—Neutrality.

THE GERMANS BECOME DISLIKED

In the spring of 1918, however, a certain number of prominent Spaniards, who had hitherto remained "neutralist," began to feel that legitimate Spanish interests were being endangered by German aggression. Since early 1917 the German submarine campaign had paid little respect to the Spanish flag, and a humiliating number of Spanish vessels had been sunk, and Spanish lives lost. To shipping circles of the Basque provinces and of Barcelona, this was a severe financial loss, and a bad blow to the pride of every Spanish patriot. On several occasions German submarines had been compelled to take refuge in Spanish ports, where they had been interned. The captain of one of these submarines interned at Cadiz had given his parole of honor not to attempt escape; but he broke his parole and got away. When the Spanish Government protested at this breach of honor, it was apparently given to understand by the German ambassador that in dealing with Spaniards a German's word of honor was of course negligible. Episodes of this kind, continually repeated, were not conducive to a continuance of pro-German feeling among the best-informed Spaniards.

The presence in Spain of many thousands of Germans, who had managed to escape from the German colonies in Africa, or who had been expelled from Portugal when it entered the war, was also a source of considerable trouble to the Spanish Government. This was particularly true early in 1918 when it was discovered that a prominent German resident attached to the German embassy was in communication with notorious Spanish anarchists and urging them to action. The government, in its desire for neutrality, attempted to keep this serious breach of neutrality quiet, but one of the best Madrid newspapers, *El Sol*, exposed the affair, and became the chief organ of the pro-Ally party.

The influence of the Church, of the Army, and of the peasantry, however, was strong enough, in spite of these difficulties, to prevent a breach with Germany, and the result of continued neutrality has been along material

lines, a great benefit to Spain. While most of the other European nations were slaughtering their manhood and plunging into appalling debt, the Spanish nation continued on its way, setting its house in order, undisturbed by the



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King Alfonso of Spain and His Son

rumble of the distant storm. The economic benefits of neutrality were enhanced by Spain's geographical position. Spain was not surrounded by warring armies like Switzerland, and was not harassed by the Allied blockade like Holland and the Scandinavian countries. The Spaniards were therefore able to develop



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Bolshevik Uprising in Madrid, Spain

Great throngs marched in the streets acclaiming Bolshevism. The sign reads, "Long Live Russia!"

in perfect peace their large commercial relations with the whole world outside the relatively small block of the Central Powers, and they made such good use of these opportunities that at the close of the war Spain was notably enriched and occupied an enviable position of prosperity in a stricken

and impoverished continent. For the first time in centuries Spain is on a sound financial footing. If Spain accomplishes her political housecleaning without civil strife she can look forward to an era of progress and prosperity far sounder and more enduring than any other in her long history.

PORTUGAL IS RENT BY REVOLUTION

The Portuguese Soldiers Fight in the Trenches, While Her Politicians Wrangle

PORTUGAL was the one country in Europe where home affairs remained more interesting than the war, and this in spite of the fact that during the war Portugal joined the ranks of the belligerent nations. The reason for this was that Portugal had so many domestic troubles that beside them even the World War shrank to almost a side-issue in

public opinion. These local distractions are of no recent date; they have been chronic for many years, are still in full swing, and promise to continue indefinitely.

For the last decade the volcanic character of Portuguese political life has been notorious. In 1910 she drew the world's scrutiny by the revolution which drove the royal House of

Braganza from the throne, abolished the Monarchy, and proclaimed the Portuguese Republic. Ever since that event, Portugal has been passing through a bewildering maze of cabinet crises, dictatorships, assassinations, and revolutions of various shades, the whole forming a deplorable exhibition of political instability. Many critics of monarchist leanings have been inclined to lay this at the Republic's door. That, however, is a short-sighted view. As a matter of fact, Portugal's troubles during the last nine years are merely a more dramatic version of ills that had been chronic under the Monarchy for decades.

FAILURE OF THE MONARCHY

The unpleasant truth is that the Portuguese people has not shown itself fit for self-government, while its rulers have not shown themselves fit for strong government. The Braganza dynasty produced generations of weak and usually debauched monarchs who abandoned their subjects to the rapacity of unworthy palace-favorites. Half a century ago the nation rebelled against this degenerate absolutism and extorted parliamentary government under a limited monarchy. But the change did little good, because political power was merely shifted from courtiers to politicians who "worked" the elections and robbed the treasury as merrily as their courtier predecessors. In the year 1892 Portugal went flat bankrupt. All this naturally discredited the throne. The Braganzas, being now constitutional monarchs, could not of course be charged with full responsibility for Portugal's deplorable situation, but they certainly showed no capacity or desire to use what powers remained to them to lead their people to better things, so that it was natural Portuguese liberals should despair of monarchy and should turn to republicanism as a remedy. The result was a growing republican movement which showed itself in conspiracies, riots, and parliamentary opposition that made orderly political life virtually unworkable. A royal attempt at dictatorship merely precipitated the crisis, and in 1910 King Manuel, a worthless youth, was swept from the throne by revolution, the Republic was proclaimed, and the House of Braganza exiled from Portugal "forever."

THE REPUBLIC NO IMPROVEMENT

The Republic raised great hopes, but very soon the old political truth was once more demonstrated that a people cannot change its nature by writing a constitution. The new Republican constitution of Portugal reads well, but its complicated mechanism could have functioned only in a country of few political parties, well organized, under strict discipline, and backed by the immense majority of the electorate, for simple programs, leaving the fundamental form of government entirely beyond discussion. Unfortunately, the actual state of things was just the opposite of all this. The Republic was the work of a relatively small group of middle-class liberals in Lisbon and the other chief towns. These people worked the political machine, looted the treasury, and fought among themselves just like their more conservative predecessors. Outside the towns the ignorant, illiterate, peasant masses remained Royalist at heart and sympathized more or less passively with the attempts of Royalist plotters to bring back the King, while in the towns the rabble was increasingly impregnated with anarchism and threatened a social revolution and a general collapse into chaos.

PORTUGAL AND THE WAR

Such is Portugal's political life: a never-ending squabble between rival gangs of "liberal" politicians, occasionally suspending the feud and joining hands to "save the Republic" from the assaults of their common enemies, the Royalists and the Reds. Small wonder that, under these circumstances, the outbreak of the European War wrought relatively little change in revolution-hardened Portugal. The people were predominantly pro-Ally from the start, largely owing to their traditional friendship and alliance with England—a connection which has lasted for centuries. All the political parties hastened to pledge their loyalty to the English alliance which protected Portugal from the ever-lurking possibility of absorption by Spain. From the beginning of the war Portugal though at first technically neutral, frankly aided the Allies in many ways, especially by allowing the Allies free use of her African colonies. This

led to trouble with Germany, and throughout 1915 there was desultory fighting between German and Portuguese colonial forces. In retaliation for these colonial "incidents," Portugal seized the German ships interned in Portuguese ports, and in March, 1916, Germany declared war. Portugal thereupon, to the satisfaction of her friends, equipped an expeditionary force which reached the Western Front in 1917, and was badly cut to pieces

two temporary revolutionary interludes. But at the close of 1917 the rival group, known as "Evolutionists," made a successful revolution and landed their leader, Dr. Sidonio Paës, in the Presidential Chair. Dr. Paës began coquetting with the ultra-conservative elements and was accused by his enemies of planning a Royalist restoration, with himself as the Power behind the Throne. Whatever truth there may have been in these charges,



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Portuguese Celebration Over Declaration of War

When Germany declared war on Portugal, 30,000 people cheered the tidings on the Avenue of Liberty in Lisbon. Portugal became involved in the war through her seizure of several German ships that were lying in her harbor at Lisbon.

by the Germans during their great Spring offensive in 1918.

DOMESTIC TROUBLES

All this had little effect on Portugal's domestic troubles. In fact, these became more acute with the passage of time. During the period of Portuguese neutrality the more radical of the two middle-class groups which supported the Republic had been in power. They were known as "Democrats," and their leader, Dr. Alfonso Costa, had proved sufficiently able to keep his party on top, barring one or

certain it is that the jails were emptied of Royalist prisoners and filled with Democrats, while anarchistic outbreaks of the city rabble were repressed with a vigor unknown to the former régime. All this infuriated both Democrats and Reds, and it was therefore not surprising that after just one year in office Dr. Paës was assassinated by an anarchist in December, 1918.

THE POLITICAL ERUPTION OF 1919

President Paës' assassination ushered in a cycle of revolutionary disturbances unusually

intense even for Portugal. Paës' administration had so discredited the Republic that both its Royalist and Red enemies were tempted to deliver almost simultaneous assaults. The Red assault came first. In mid-January, 1919, mob rioting broke out in the two chief Portuguese cities, Lisbon and Oporto, supported by regiments of the army and units of the fleet. The government, however, managed to suppress this Red movement after some desultory fighting. But hardly had the echoes of this Red tumult died away when the second, or Royalist, revolution began. This Royalist insurrection, like previous Royalist attempts, had its center in the North, where the peasantry were especially conservative. The movement spread rapidly and involved a

considerable part of the army, some regiments of the Lisbon garrison raising the blue-and-white Braganza banner and entrenching themselves in the hills back of the capital. For a while it looked as though the Republic might possibly be overthrown, but, faced by this menace, the most serious which had ever threatened, the two Republican parties buried the hatchet, joined forces, and succeeded in weathering the storm. The Lisbon rebels were quickly subdued, and after a good deal of sharp fighting the Royalist North was mastered. Having thus overcome their common enemies, the Republican politicians are showing signs of resuming their factional quarrels until their common foes shall once more force them to "save the Republic."

HOLLAND CLINGS TO PEACE

Caught in the Maelstrom of War the Netherlandish Government Refuses Belligerency—Between Devil and Deep Sea

ALL the small European neutrals had a hard time of it during the war, but Holland's trials were assuredly the worst. From the very beginning of the struggle this tiny country became literally an islet of peace in a roaring flood of war. Not only was Holland enveloped on all sides by battling armies and fleets, but her very position in the center of things laid her open to the threat of invasion by both sets of belligerents, to either of whom possession of such a valuable strategic point would have been of incalculable importance. As a matter of fact, Holland maintained her neutrality to the end, but she passed through many anxious hours and had to endure harsh pressure from both sides which at times verged upon the intolerable.

HOLLAND'S ARMED NEUTRALITY

Fortunately for the Dutch they had foreseen the possibility of Armageddon, and for years previous to the war they had been arming against attack from every quarter. A complicated system of dykes and sluices threatened to drown land invaders,

while the Dutch coast and the mouth of the Scheldt bristled with heavy guns ready to smash a fleet attack by sea. The Army was so strengthened that mobilization would yield nearly 300,000 trained men.

No sooner did the storm break in 1914, therefore, than Holland stood armed to the teeth. A government proclamation of strict neutrality reassured both sets of belligerents against Dutch action on either side, but also let the world know that any invasion of Dutch territory would be resisted to the death. And, scanning Holland's history, wise men knew that the Dutch meant just what they said. Of course, the Dutch realized that strict neutrality meant universal unpopularity, and, in fact, criticism and abuse soon came their way. A good example of how Holland drew fire from both sides is her attitude over the Scheldt. The river Scheldt empties into the North Sea entirely through Dutch territory, but a short distance up-stream it becomes a Belgian river on which is located the city of Antwerp, Belgium's chief port and fortified stronghold. When the German armies approached Antwerp a great cry went up in

England for the despatch of a British fleet to defend the city. But as Holland could not allow this without violating her neutrality, the Scheldt was heavily fortified, and the fleet was never sent. Antwerp fell, and the British press was full of angry menaces against Holland. Dutch neutrality was denounced as "criminal" and threats were freely made of condign punishment. Even so usually liberal

poured out the vials of their wrath upon these "miserable little people" standing at the mouths of "German rivers," and threatened them with dire punishment when "The Day" had fully come. The Dutch, however, shut their teeth and sat tight. They were not going to have their little country converted into a blackened ruin or drowned beneath the hungry sea where the dykes had gone down.



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Dutch Troops at Machine-Gun Practice

Though Holland remained a neutral throughout the World War, she was continually prepared for the worst.

a writer as Mr. H. G. Wells hinted, like many other Englishmen, that Holland might lose her rich East Indian empire to Japan. A few months later, however, the shoe was on the other foot. Germany was now sending out her first submarines, and their ideal base was, of course, not the distant German ports or the exposed harbors of the Belgian coast, but Antwerp, far up the deep, wide Scheldt. But Holland could not let German submarines down the river any more than it could let British warships up-stream without violating its neutrality, so Antwerp lay a useless weapon in German hands till the end of the war. This infuriated many Germans, who

THE TIGHTENING SCREWS

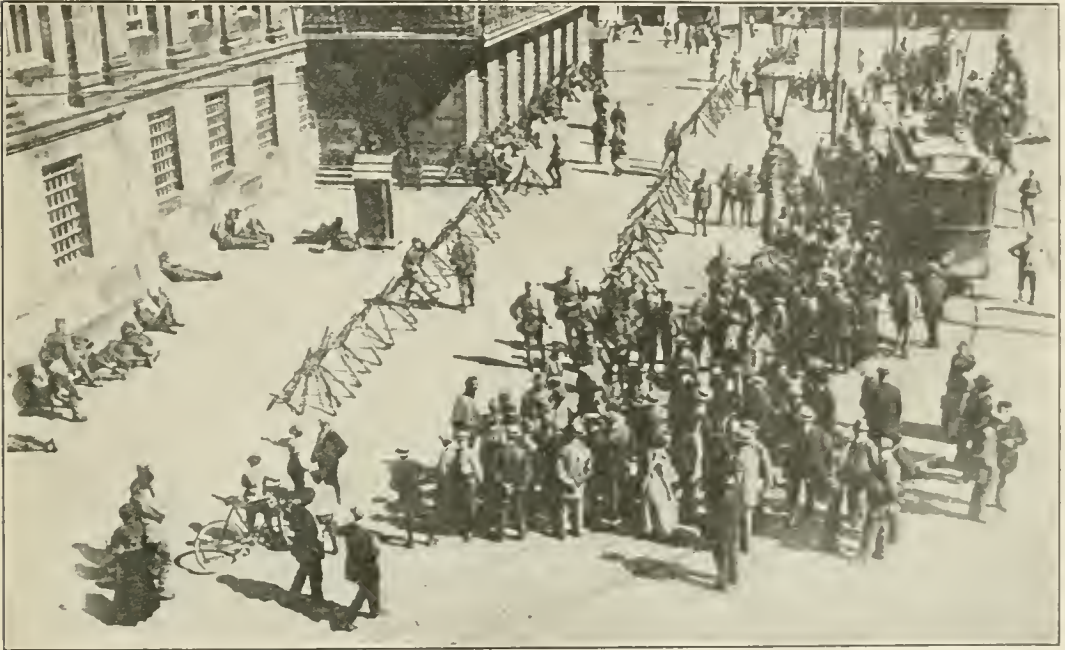
Holland's troubles were not merely strategic or political, they were economic as well. Despite her proverbial wealth, Holland is naturally a poor country, with few natural resources. Virtually without coal, iron, timber, or even stone, unable to feed her dense population by her own agriculture, Holland lives primarily by trade, commerce, and the profits of her colonies. But all these activities had now stopped, just at the moment when Holland had to supply her idle people, keep her young manhood under arms, and feed several hundred thousand Belgian refu-

gees, the destitute objects of her bounty. It was under these circumstances that England and Germany began putting on the economic screws. Holland was getting her foodstuffs from abroad and her coal from Germany. England, in pursuance of her naval blockade, started holding up Dutch food ships lest some of it pass into Germany, while Germany demanded certain foodstuffs from Holland under penalty of stopping coal and letting Holland freeze. During the greater part of 1915

produce if they were to get German coal, and threatened to kick over the traces if they were squeezed too hard. Finally both the Allies and Germany agreed to a compromise that permitted Holland to live, though keeping her on very short rations.

MILITARY ALARMS

Besides these economic trials, complicated by unpleasant incidents like German U-boat



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Food Riots in Amsterdam

The Dutch soldiers guarded the palace in Amsterdam during the uprising. These troops were sent from neighboring cities, as the Amsterdam soldiers refused to serve.

Holland had a very bad time of it, with bread riots breaking out in the cities and privation spreading on every hand. Holland's food difficulties were partly remedied by the creation of the famous "N. O. T.," or "Netherlands Overseas Trust." This was an association of leading Dutch merchants which invited the Entente Powers to let sea-borne goods consigned to its care enter Holland under its guarantee that none of these goods should be reexported to Germany. The Allies tried to get the Dutch Government to prohibit all trade with Germany, but the Dutch answered that they had to sell Germany local Dutch

sinkings of Dutch ships, Allied seizures of other Dutch ships, British confiscation of mails, and kindred harassing episodes, Holland passed through a series of scares regarding impending violations of her neutrality. In the early spring of 1915, shortly before the Anglo-French offensive in Northern France, Holland was filled with alarmist rumors of an Allied expedition through Dutch territory to take the Germans' Western Front in the rear. Dutch apprehensions were not allayed by a warning speech of the Dutch Prime Minister, Cort van der Linden, who announced before Parliament: "The position of our coun-

try demands to-day, as it did last August, that our entire military force should be at all times available. The government, of course, has information on this subject unknown to the public, but it considers it contrary to the interests of the state to make any revelations of this information even in committee. We must keep our entire army under the colors, for at any moment incidents are possible which may render it necessary for us to make an appeal to arms."

The 1915 scare blew over, but just a year later a second and even more serious alarm gripped the country. Again the government maintained profound secrecy, but that something more than idle rumor was afoot was plain. After the 1915 crisis the government had secured authority from Parliament to double the Dutch army to nearly 600,000 men. These were now mobilized, especially in the Scheldt region and along the coast. Instructions were given for the rousing of the country by whistles and alarm-bells, and preparations were made for the cutting of the dykes. For two months Holland was in a fever of excitement and apprehension. Then the crisis subsided as mysteriously as it arose. Exactly what was in the wind was not divulged, though the government's preparations indicated that the latent threat to Dutch neutrality was expected by sea.

DEEPENING TROUBLES

The fading of peace prospects at the beginning of 1917 and the accession of the United States, the one great neutral, to the warring nations, filled Holland with pessimistic gloom, albeit it did not shake her neutralist resolution. The Premier's official address at that time accurately reflected the Dutch state of mind. In mid-April he said: "The longer the war lasts, the more difficult becomes the situation, while the limits of international law grow continually more narrow. We suffer from the submarine war and from the blockade policy, but we do not deviate from our policy of strict neutrality and readiness to defend our soil against anyone attacking us. The belligerents injure us by their warfare, and our neutrality injures their interests. The Netherlands grants favors to neither party, but is doing what, according to the best judg-

ment, appears to be right. We become more lonely, and by what we do we win the affection of neither party. But in any case we shall retain their respect."

Premier van der Linden was a true prophet. Holland had even more difficult times in store. The German U-boat campaign, then at its height, was rapidly thinning the world's shipping and was threatening the Entente nations with starvation. Under such circumstances neutral Holland could expect slight consideration until the sea-powers' most pressing needs had been satisfied. All through 1917 living conditions in Holland grew worse. Bloody riots again broke out in the Dutch cities, and the Russian Revolution evoked from the Dutch masses a sympathetic echo. Nineteen hundred and eighteen was worse still. The crowning blow came in March, when the Allies and the United States seized nearly 1,000,000 tons of Dutch shipping—practically the entire Dutch merchant marine. Dutch wrath flamed up hotly, some voices even demanding war, but Holland's helplessness was so complete that she could do nothing but submit under protest.

All this merely intensified Dutch neutrality. In 1914 the German violation of Belgium and the spectacle of the Belgian refugee multitudes in their midst had swung Dutch popular sympathies predominantly to the Allies. But as time passed the slights and infringements of Dutch rights inflicted by both sides drove the Dutch to an absolutely neutral attitude. Their one desire was an end of the war, and their attitude toward the belligerent world was "a plague on both your houses." The war's later stages tinged this aloof attitude with rankling bitterness.

THE DISPUTES WITH BELGIUM

The end of hostilities at the close of 1918 did not mark the end of Holland's troubles. She was almost immediately involved in an acrimonious dispute with her neighbor Belgium. Freshly liberated from the German yoke, Belgium demanded of the Versailles Peace Conference the abrogation of the pre-war treaty stipulations that had hampered her sovereignty and such territorial rectifications as she judged necessary for her increased strength and prosperity in the New Europe.



By J. F. Bouchor

France's Colonies Share Her Burden

Unfortunately, two of these rectifications—the Scheldt and Maastricht areas—could be effected only at Holland's expense. The story of these Belgian claims is told in the section on Belgium. Suffice it to say here that the Dutch instantly flamed into angry protest against what they regarded as Belgium's un-

warranted pretensions. Armed resistance was mooted even against the world, and Belgium was warned of a future reckoning should her views prevail at Versailles. The Versailles conference, however, decided against Belgium's territorial claims in Holland and the crisis died away.

THE HOME OF THE RED CROSS

Strained by Conflicting Racial Ties, the Neutral Swiss become the Good Samaritans of Europe

LIKE all the other small European neutrals, Switzerland had a hard time of it during the war. With no outlet to the sea and completely surrounded by belligerent nations, this little mountain land was in sorry posture from the first. The infertility of her rocky soil, making necessary food imports to nourish her people, rendered Switzerland dependent upon the good-will of the Allies, while her lack of coal made her almost equally dependent upon German favor. Another serious difficulty was the divergent sympathies of the Swiss themselves. Switzerland is inhabited by people of German, French and Italian race, and these elements generally followed the call of the blood sufficiently to wish their respective race-kindred success. Fortunately, these sympathies never reached the point of separatism or desire for active intervention in the war. High above all differences of blood, speech or creed rose the lofty ideal of Swiss patriotism, incarnated in the century-old tradition of Neutrality which has been the cardinal point of Swiss foreign policy since the beginnings of Swiss national life six hundred years ago.

Thus inspired by pacific ideals and respected by all its warring neighbors, Switzerland's annals during the war contain little that is dramatic or exciting. Nevertheless, the way in which the Swiss have not merely solved their own domestic difficulties but also have kept before their eyes their cherished rôle of helper and healer of men and nations is one of the most quietly inspiring episodes of this terrible time.

MOBILIZATION

At the very start of the European conflict, Switzerland was faced with the necessity of taking quick and effective action for her own protection. The Federal government's first act was a proclamation of strict neutrality and a warning that Switzerland would defend its integrity and independence against infringement from whatever quarter. To this end the whole Swiss army was promptly mobilized and massed upon the frontiers. The Swiss army is no make-believe. It is a first-class fighting machine. This, added to the high defensibility of the country itself, made it certain that neither set of belligerents would dare to risk Swiss enmity for any temptation that Swiss territorial short-cuts might offer.

The Federal government's next concern was the securing of adequate supplies of food and fuel. When the war broke out the visible food-supply, even counting the current domestic harvest, was only sufficient to last till mid-December, while the coal stocks were also dangerously low. A complicated series of negotiations with the Allies and with Germany now ensued, finally resulting in a reasonable compromise, but Switzerland was greatly pinched for both food and fuel throughout the war years.

SWISS NATIONALISM STRAINED

It was inevitable, of course, that the French-speaking and the German-speaking Swiss were in most cases very sympathetic toward their

respective linguistic brethren. As a result, considerable hard feeling developed. One Swiss Protestant pastor is reported to have proclaimed that "were Christ returned to earth, he would be found working a *mitrail-leuse* in the front ranks of the German army." Luckily for the domestic peace of Switzerland, such emotional outbursts were infrequent; but, nevertheless, the spirit of Swiss nationalism was badly strained by the war. Sanford Griffith, writing in the *Outlook* on December 6th, 1916, thus explains the differences between the French and the German Swiss:

"The French Swiss is a Latin, emotional, an idealist, violently anti-German by reason and instinct. . . . His democracy is more personal than the liberalism of his German-Swiss neighbor, who is an unimaginative toiler. First and last, the German-Swiss knows his field, or his shop, and has no particular antipathy for any people. In politics he is a materialist. If he makes a treaty, he does it, not for sentimental reasons, but because it pays. He believes in sound, well-organized government, and in a strong army on a German model. He looks on the political ferment common in French and unending in Italian Switzerland, with the placid tolerance of an elder brother.

"The French-Swiss feel so deeply their heritage . . . that passers-by speaking German on the streets of Geneva are looked at askance. On the other hand, you may talk English, French or Japanese in the streets of Zürich, without attracting the slightest attention. One ardent Francophile in Zürich in the early days of the war put a phonograph on his balcony and played the "Marseillaise" from morn till night. An occasional passer-by lifted his hat or hissed, the majority passed unnoticed. Had this been in a French-Swiss town, and the song the "Wacht am Rhein," a riot would have followed.

THE "TWO-COLONELS AFFAIR"

In 1916 an event occurred which convinced the rigidly neutral Swiss that their neutrality was being badly threatened by their own General Staff. The Intelligence Department of the Swiss General Staff was organized in two sections under Colonel Egli and Colonel von Wattenwyl. These two gentlemen were charged, among other duties, with preparing

a daily "confidential" report for the use of the Staff. They received great assistance in the preparation of this report from the German military attaché, Major von Bismarck, and the Austro-Hungarian, Col. von Einem; and, apparently, they came into the closest personal relations. It soon, apparently, became the regular practice for the two Swiss colonels to show the attachés of the Central Powers their complete daily confidential report. By the interception of a cipher message, the Allied diplomats learned of what was happening, and protested to the Swiss Government. The General Staff attempted to hush the affair up, but the Swiss Government had the two colonels tried before a civil court. They were acquitted for technical reasons, but were immediately retired from the army. Swiss neutral sentiment suffered a severe shock, and their General Staff a serious loss of prestige.

THE HOFFMAN-GRIMM SCANDAL

Shortly afterward, moreover, another compromising affair took place. Herr Hoffman, ex-president of the Republic, and, in early 1917, at the head of the Swiss Foreign Office, sent, through the Swiss legation in Petrograd, to a Swiss Socialist, named Grimm, who lived in that city, a despatch which outlined the desire of the Germans for a separate peace with Russia. The despatch was intercepted and the Provisional Russian Government expelled Grimm. Publicity could not be avoided, and Hoffman was forced, by the strong demands of the thoroughly neutralist Parliament, to resign, being replaced by Gustave Ador, the President of the Red Cross and of French speech.

THE GOOD SAMARITAN

Most impressive are the efficient and far-reaching humanitarian services rendered by Switzerland to all the warring nations. The first of these were its various Red Cross activities. Geneva had always been the seat of this international organization, and it instantly set to work creating an Agency for Prisoners of War which collected the names and addresses of prisoners on both sides, and which later took charge of the distribution of letters, food-packets, clothing, etc. A like agency for the classification and relief of in-



Courtesy of Red Cross Magazine.

Hail the Conquering Hero!

The Swiss made the arrival of French or British wounded a memorable occasion. Small girls strewed their path with flowers and the entire population of the town turned out to greet them.

terned civilians in the various belligerent lands was soon established at Berne, and was similarly indefatigable in its exertions. The good done by these two agencies alone is incalculable. Nevertheless, it represents only a small part of Switzerland's charitable activity. Though dangerously short of food, Switzerland offered an asylum to thousands of Belgian refugees. Later on, famous health resorts like St. Moritz and Davos Platz were transformed into sanatoria for tuberculous prisoners sent thither on parole, while exchanged prisoners and interned civilians passing through Switzerland on their way to their respective home-lands were royally welcomed and most tenderly cared for and supplied.

Not satisfied with these material charities,

the Swiss did what they could to at least pave the way for a healing of the spiritual breach which had so appallingly sundered Europe. Swiss writers devoted their best thought to ideas of constructive settlement, while Swiss soil offered a neutral ground whereon representatives of the warring peoples might meet and try to find a basis of mutual understanding. Too often this hospitality was abused by propagandists, spies and social revolutionists, yet the motive actuating the Swiss people remained none the less praiseworthy and pure. The Versailles Peace Conference did nothing more than justice to Swiss idealism and practical service to humanity during the war by fixing Geneva as the capital of the future League of Nations.

JAPAN FINDS WAR A BLESSING

Gaining in Wealth and Territory, Japan Makes Bold Claims Upon China and Korea

THE FORTUNATE WAR

AS no cloud is said to be without a silver lining, so no war is without its gainer. And the great gainer by the European War has been unquestionably Japan. At an infinitesimal expenditure of blood and treasure, Japan has made herself the indisputable hegemon of the Far East, while the exhaustion of the rest of the world has brought Japan automatically into the front rank of the Great Powers. Finally, the economic necessities of the warring nations has enabled Japan to develop her industrial life and to amass wealth more rapidly than she would have been able to accomplish under normal circumstances in half a century. Well might the Japanese term the European cataclysm "The Fortunate War."

THE CONQUEST OF KIAU-CHAU

When the European War broke out treaty obligations and self-interest combined to involve Japan in the struggle. For more than a decade Japan had been bound by an alliance

with England, pledging the two Powers to mutual assistance in the Far East. Also, Japan's relations with Germany had been bad ever since Germany's leading part in forcing Japan to evacuate Manchuria after her war with China in 1895. The German stronghold of Kiau-chau in the Chinese province of Shantung was a thorn in Japan's side, and Japan accordingly lost no time in improving the opportunity to oust the Germans from Kiau-chau and the whole Far East. On August 17, 1914, the Japanese Government issued an ultimatum to Germany demanding the withdrawal of her naval forces from Far Eastern waters and the surrender of Kiau-chau. Germany's pride permitted no answer to this summons, the Kaiser telegraphing to Kiau-chau: "It would shame me more to surrender Kiau-chau to the Japanese than Berlin to the Russians." Her ultimatum having been ignored, Japan proceeded to action. On August 23rd war was declared against Germany, a naval blockade of Kiau-chau was proclaimed on the same day, and a Japanese army of 30,000 men was despatched by sea to capture the place, effecting a landing some dis-

tance down the Shantung coast. Kiau-chau was a strong place. Germany had spent enormous sums of money fortifying it, and besides its normal garrison the German legation guard at Peking and the German reservists throughout China had had time to reach the spot. Nevertheless, the result was a foregone conclusion. The Japanese avoided costly assaults, pushing the siege mainly by heavy bombardments. On November 7th, when several of

Arthur, for which, ten years before, Japan had poured out blood like water. Japan obtained not merely the German concession of Kiau-chau, but installed herself in Germany's shoes throughout the surrounding region, making herself virtually master of the great Chinese province of Shantung, one of the richest and most densely peopled parts of China, and giving Japan a stranglehold over the Chinese capital, Peking. To complete Japan's triumph,



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Japanese Cabinet Members, and Army and Navy Officers in a State Procession

the key forts had been silenced and the Japanese infantry were preparing to rush the last line, the Germans raised the white flag. On neither side had much blood been shed, considering the magnitude of the operations and the importance of the prize. The German garrison originally 5,000 men, was well over 4,000 at the surrender. The Japanese casualties were under 2,000—416 men killed and 1,542 wounded. Never, perhaps, has a lighter toll of life been paid for so important a prize. Kiau-chau was as important to Japan as Port

Japanese naval forces had occupied the island-groups belonging to Germany in the Pacific north of the equator. This was in conformity with an understanding with Britain, by which Japan was to have the German Pacific islands north of the equator, while those south of the line were to be occupied by Australasian and New Zealand expeditionary forces. The expulsion of Germany from both China and the Pacific was thus accomplished long before the close of the year 1914; and Japan's active part in the war was nearly over.

THE "KHAKEE ELECTION" OF 1915

The war naturally had a sharp repercussion upon the course of Japanese home politics. And during recent years that course had been a troubled one. Japan, though endowed with the forms of Western parliamentary life, was far from being a democracy. Not only was the franchise so restricted that the vote was

monopoly of the aristocracy and clamored for a genuine share in the government of the country. Just before the outbreak of the war a number of very malodorous scandals had been unearthed, pointing to widespread corruption in the ruling groups and discrediting their rule in popular estimation.

The European War, however, roused the inherent patriotism of the Japanese people and



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Japan Celebrating the Capture of the German Stronghold at Kiao-Chau

On Nov. 7th, 1914, when the news of the fall of Kiao-chau reached Tokyo, the city was decorated in commemoration of the event.

confined to the upper classes, but real political power was lodged in the hands of a small group of elderly aristocrats—the "Genro" or Council of Elder Statesmen, together with the nobility, grouped in Clans. The years previous to the European struggle, however, had witnessed the beginnings of popular discontent at this state of things. The rising industrial life of the nation had produced its inevitable results—the creation of a class-conscious urban proletariat and an educated middle class, both of whom resented the political

overshadowed questions of domestic reform. The government, headed by Count Okuma, was frankly imperialist and desired a great strengthening of Japan's military power, in order to take full advantage of the unparalleled opportunities presented by Europe's absorption in its own troubles and consequent inability to oppose Japanese expansion in the Far East. The Diet, or Parliament, however, contained a strong opposition which, at the close of 1914, succeeded in defeating the government's inflated army budget. There-

upon Premier Okuma dissolved the Diet and appealed to the country. The general election which followed was a heated affair. Count Okuma stumped the country, making numerous speeches and even circulating gramophone records of his orations to places that he could not personally reach. The result of the elections, held on March 25, 1915, was a great triumph for the government. The opposition

China. In January, 1915, the Japanese ambassador at Peking had presented to the Chinese Government the famous "Group Demands" which, if acceded to, would make Japan virtually master of her huge but disorganized neighbor. The Chinese Government had, as usual, shuffled and procrastinated, and the Japanese Government had waited until after the elections before proceeding further.



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Japanese Naval and Military Leaders

Right to left: General Uehara, Chief of General Staff; Marquis Okuma; General Oshima, Minister of War; and Admiral Shimamura, Chief of the Naval Board.

lost numerous seats and the Ministry was returned with a clear parliamentary majority over all the opposition groups combined. Unfortunately for the government, its triumph was clouded by charges of wholesale bribery and electoral frauds which proved to be true. This tended to weaken the government's hold over both parliament and the country.

JAPAN'S "FORWARD POLICY" IN CHINA

Nevertheless, the government felt strong enough to prosecute its ambitious designs in

Now, however, drastic pressure was applied. On May 7, 1915, Japan presented a 48-hour ultimatum, and China, threatened with invasion, militarily defenseless, torn by domestic strife, and without friends, was obliged to capitulate. The rights acquired by Japan were of the most widespread and momentous character. They included not merely Chinese confirmation of Japan's position in Manchuria and acquiescence in Japan's substitution for Germany in Kiau-chau and Shantung province, but also recognition of Japanese

rights in Mongolia, in Fu-kien province, opposite the Japanese island of Formosa, in central China, especially near Hankow, and a number of general rights which could be interpreted as virtually constituting Japanese control over all China. Sweeping as were these rights, they were amplified by yet other demands pressed upon China during the remaining years of the war. In fact, Japan officially claimed a special position in China as against the rest of the world and pressed for recognition of her claims by foreign Powers. At the close of 1917 even the United States admitted at least a part of the Japanese contentions by the famous Lansing-Ishii Notes, in which the American Secretary of State admitted that the American Government recognized that territorial propinquity created special relations between countries, and consequently recognized that Japan had special interests in China.

A "MONROE DOCTRINE" FOR THE FAR EAST

Japan now broadened the scope of her pretensions from China to include the whole Far East. Her thesis was virtually the same as that taken up by the United States regarding the rest of the Western Hemisphere—that, while existing European holdings in the Far East (except German) would be respected, Japan would view with concern the extension of existing rights or the acquirement of new ones. A significant move in this line was Japan's purchase of Portugal's holding at Macao, in southern China. Macao was one of the very oldest European possessions in the Far East, having been leased by Portugal in the year 1586. Thereby Japan got a foothold in South China, near Britain's base at Hong Kong, and not so very far from French Indo-China. Indeed, there were numerous rumors, apparently well-founded, that Japan had offered to send an army to aid France (as many Frenchmen were suggesting) if France would cede Indo-China to Japan. France refused to consider the matter, so nothing came of it, but Japan's attitude caused growing uneasiness among Europeans throughout the Far East, regardless of nationality, English residents in China sharing the prevailing feeling despite the official cordiality between the two governments. Even in distant Dutch India

there was fear of Japanese aggression, rumor having it that the Dutch Indies were to be given to Japan in case Holland should prove stiff-necked toward the Allies in Europe.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE TREATY OF 1916

In July, 1916, an agreement was signed between the Japanese and Russian Governments at Petrograd, which excited much comment throughout the world. The phraseology of the treaty stipulated mutual guarantees and support in the Far East, but it was widely interpreted as the beginning of a Russo-Japanese partition of China. For several years it had become plain that the two Powers were forgetting the rancors engendered by the Manchurian War and were feeling their way toward an understanding over the Chinese booty. This agreement would probably have marked the beginning of a very interesting and important chapter in Far Eastern history had not the Russian Revolution within a year swept away Czardom with its imperialist designs and totally changed the face of things in the Far East, as everywhere else where Russia had a stake in the game.

TERAUCHI AND SIBERIAN INTERVENTION

The collapse of Russia during 1917, ending in Bolshevism and anarchy at the close of the year, had an immediate and profound effect upon Japan. Siberia, like the rest of the former Czarist Empire, was in complete chaos, and Japan, like the other Allies, felt some degree of armed intervention was necessary in order to avert the possible extension of German influence to the Pacific. In Japan, however, this essentially defensive attitude was reinforced by imperialistic aspirations. The hotter Japanese imperialists saw in Russia's collapse a golden opportunity for Japanese penetration into Siberia, at least as far west as Lake Baikal. They urged the despatch of a huge Japanese army to Siberia, the military occupation of the whole country, and the eventual acquisition of the seaboard provinces as a reward for the overthrow of Bolshevism and the checkmating of German designs. They were heartened in these aspirations by the presence of a staunch militarist, General Terauchi, in the Prime Minister's chair. In



Kei Hara

The first commoner to become Premier of Japan, his elevation to that office being evidence of the growth of a Liberal Party which is the hope of those who wish for a more conciliatory foreign policy in the Far East.

the autumn of 1916 Count Okuma had resigned the premiership owing to advanced age, and the Mikado had thereupon invited Gen-

eral Terauchi to form a new cabinet. This had roused the ire of the anti-imperialist Opposition. The Opposition alleged that

General Terauchi had assumed office in an unconstitutional manner, since the Mikado had appointed him on the advice of the *Genro* (Council of Elder Statesmen), who, according to the Opposition, ought not to have interfered in the matter. The Opposition deprecated an adventurous policy in Siberia as leading to disastrous foreign complications which would further postpone those democratizing reforms which the liberals and anti-imperialists had so much at heart.

THE HARA CABINET

The liberal opposition which crystallized from the start against the bureaucratic and militarist tradition as incarnated by Premier Terauchi rose steadily with the year 1918. The moral flood which was sweeping the West had its backwash in Japan. Popular demands for reform grew louder, and their brutal repression by the bureaucracy merely fanned the flames. In the summer serious riots occurred in the industrial centers. The immediate cause was a food shortage due to a failure in the rice crop, but the flaunting luxury of war profiteers was also a contributing element. In the autumn the storm burst. Led by that astute parliamentary tactician, Marquis Saionji, and his able lieutenant, Mr. Kei Hara, the Terauchi Cabinet was defeated in the Diet and forced to resign. A liberal Cabinet took the reins of government, headed by Mr. Hara. This was hailed everywhere as a great event. Mr. Hara was a commoner. In his youth he had been a radical (in the Japanese sense), and he was known to be avowedly opposed to the omnipotence of the *Genro* and the clans, and in favor of manhood suffrage; in other words, something very like democracy as understood in the West.

JAPAN AT THE PEACE TABLE

The growth of Japanese power and prestige was reflected by the leading part which she played at the Versailles Peace Conference. Her delegates sat at the inner council-board and were recognized as members of the "Big Five" in whose hands, primarily, lay the ordering of the new world. Unfortunately, the trend of things soon discredited Premier Hara and the liberal elements of the Jap-

anese Government in favor of the supporters of the older traditions. Japanese public opinion was overwhelmingly in favor of maintaining the country's special position in China, and China's efforts to get the Peace Conference to annul the concessions extorted from her by Japan during the war and to restore Shantung inflamed Japanese patriotic feeling and gave the reactionaries a chance to get back into popular favor. Moreover, Mr. Hara did not have a free hand in foreign policy. True to the older tradition, the *Genro* or Elder Statesmen maintained their sway in diplomacy above the head of the Prime Minister and his parliamentary majority. It was the *Genro*, not Premier Hara, who had the last word at Versailles and to whom Japan's delegates looked for instructions. Indeed, Mr. Hara had the mortification of discovering that the *Genro* had its own special diplomatic envoys in foreign fields. Against these occult influences Mr. Hara could make little headway, especially as patriotic feeling was presently roused still further by unrest in the Japanese dependencies, including Formosa and in even greater degree Korea.

KOREAN SEPARATISM

Korea, though under Japanese control since the Chino-Japanese War of 1894, and though formally incorporated into the Japanese Empire in 1910, had never acquiesced in the loss of its liberties and now raised a piercing cry for independence. Japanese rule had unquestionably conferred great material benefits upon Korea, raising it economically from the backwardness and decrepitude into which it had fallen. The Koreans, however, asserted that this benefited mainly the numerous Japanese immigrants who were possessing themselves of the land, and bitterly resented governmental efforts to make them give up their ancient language and culture and to turn them into Japanese. Into the night of Korean discontent the news of the Versailles Peace Conference with its official approval of the "self-determination" of peoples and the rights of small nations came like a ray of light. Roused to eager hope, the Koreans endeavored to get their case before the Conference, and when the Japanese Government denied their petitions, the Korean Nationalists started a "pas-

sive resistance" demonstration in favor of independence. These first demonstrations, though entirely peaceful in character, were handled by the Japanese police and gendarmes with brutal severity. This so inflamed the populace that they passed from peaceful protest to angry violence, gendarmerie posts, especially in the country districts, being stormed by mobs armed with clubs, axes, scythes, and similar weapons. This, in turn, roused the Japanese to even greater severities. The local garrisons were heavily reënforced by troops rushed over from Japan, demonstrators were fired on and raked by machine guns. The mere word

"Independence," shouted by a voice from a crowd, was usually the signal for the Japanese soldiers to open a fusillade or make a bayonet charge. Thousands of people were arrested, thousands more wounded, beaten, and killed. Still the demonstrations and disorders went on; still reënforcements were ferried over from Japan to crush the "uprising." The whole country was declared under martial law. Later an official statement by the new Japanese Governor General, promising more conciliatory measures, allayed the unrest, but the best observers agreed that conciliation was out of the question.

THE WAR IN THE ANTIPODES

Even Latin America is Drawn into the Conflict, Although It Took no Active Part in the Fighting

LATIN AMERICA, the vast block of territory comprising not merely the continent of South America, but also Mexico, Central America, and most of the West Indies as well, was least involved in the World War. Some of the Latin American republics, to be sure, became technical belligerents, following the example of the United States in the spring of 1917, but none of these furnished much armed resistance. The greater part of Latin America remained neutral to the end. The war, of course, affected Latin America as it did every part of the world, but these effects were mainly indirect. Nevertheless, in a general survey of the life of the world during the eventful war-years, so important a section of the globe as Latin America cannot be passed over in silence, especially one which so closely concerns our own country. The following brief survey of the Latin American field, treated by countries, is therefore appended.

SOUTH AMERICA

ARGENTINA

THE outbreak of the European War caused a severe economic crisis in the Argentine Republic. Argentina had long been depen-

dent on Europe not only for its manufactured imports but for its financial needs, which, as in most developing countries, were heavy. The war completely disorganized all this, while the deflection of shipping (also European) made the export of Argentina's agricultural and animal products extremely difficult. As time passed, however, the increasing needs of Europe for foodstuffs effected a resumption of shipping facilities, and the year 1916 in particular was most prosperous for the Republic. The German U-boat war, which really assumed formidable dimensions only in 1917, again disorganized shipping communications. For a time it seemed as though Argentina would break with Germany on this issue, but President Irigoyen resolved to maintain neutrality, even endeavoring to engineer a Latin American mediation between the United States and Germany similar to that between the United States and Mexico in early 1914.

Not until the beginning of 1919 was Argentina's political life seriously troubled, and this was due to an outbreak of internal forces. Trouble began in January with a great strike which tied up the port of Buenos Aires. This strike was the signal for an avowedly revolutionary movement, a "Soviet Government of

Argentina" being proclaimed by the social revolutionary elements. A general strike was simultaneously proclaimed throughout the Republic, and destructive rioting occurred in Buenos Aires and other Argentine cities. The disturbances were finally suppressed, thanks to the vigor of the authorities and the loyalty of the Argentine army. The revolutionists were arrested wholesale, many being killed in the rioting, and about 2,000 were deported. The movement was confined mainly to the foreign population. The foreign element in Argentina is, however, very large, immigration having been heavy for many years. Buenos Aires is almost as polyglot a city as New York. The arrested Soviet supporters were overwhelmingly of foreign extraction, mostly Russians and Spaniards, the Soviet "President" (killed in the fighting) being a Russian Jew named Wald. Only about 20 per cent. of the prisoners proved to be genuine Argentinos. There is clear evidence that the outbreak was abetted by the Soviet Government of Russia.

Although order was restored, labor troubles have not ceased, and an intensive Soviet propaganda is known to be going on. The Socialist party is large and is dominated by violent leaders. There is a great deal of uneasiness about the immediate future, and associations have been formed among the upper and middle classes to fight Bolshevism and support the government in case of future revolutionary attempts.

BRAZIL

Brazil, like Argentina, was hard hit economically by the outbreak of the European War. In fact, even before the war, Brazil had been passing through a financial crisis owing to the fall in price of her two chief export crops—coffee and rubber—in the world market. However, within a twelvemonth, the necessary adjustments had been made, and Brazilian economic life resumed something like its normal course.

Unlike its other South American neighbors, Brazil entered the war against Germany. For this there were several reasons. To begin with, Brazil is a Portuguese-speaking, not a Spanish-speaking, country. The ties between Brazil and the Motherland have always been close, and Portugal's entry into the war on

the Allies' side exerted a marked effect on Brazilian sympathies. Also there was a traditional sympathy with France. Still, these sympathies would, of themselves, never have led Brazil to enter the contest. What determined the Republic's belligerent action was the German U-boat campaign and the example of the United States. Immediately upon the German announcement of ruthless submarine warfare the Brazilian Government sent a strongly worded note to Berlin, and when a Brazilian steamer was actually torpedoed in April diplomatic relations were severed. In the following month the German shipping in Brazilian ports was seized, and in October the sinking of another Brazilian vessel by submarines resulted in formal war. Brazil sent no troops to Europe and contented herself with a formal belligerency. It had been feared that the several hundred thousand Germans in southern Brazil might make trouble, but this fear proved to be without foundation.

CHILE

No country in Latin America was more seriously affected by the war than Chile, because the Republic is largely dependent on the revenue and profits obtainable from the export of nitrates from its northern provinces, and during the first year of the European War this export greatly declined. Towards the end of 1915, however, Europe demanded nitrates in enormous quantities for the making of ammunition, so Chile's prosperity returned. Politically, Chile remained almost unaffected by the war.

The chief event in Chile's history during this period was a revival of the old dispute with its neighbor Peru over the ownership of the border provinces of Tacna and Arica. The point at issue was not new. It had its inception in the Chilean-Peruvian War of 1879 and had embittered the relations of the two countries ever since, but it was never more acute than during the early months of 1919, when public opinion in both countries became inflamed to such a pitch that war seemed likely to result.

The dispute hinges on the interpretation of the Treaty of Ancon, signed October 20, 1883, which terminated the struggle already mentioned. By the terms of that treaty Peru,



Rio de Janeiro

A bird's-eye view of Brazil's capital showing this wonderful straggling city, snuggled up against the base of the majestic mountains which help to make its scenery so beautiful. The peaks are Cordova, Sugar Loaf, and Tijuca. In the lower left-hand corner of the picture appear buildings which were used for the world's fair some time ago.

the defeated party, yielded certain territories to Chile. In the first place, Peru ceded unconditionally and in perpetuity the province of Tarapacá. In the second place, Peru granted to Chile full possession of the adjacent provinces of Tacna and Arica for a period of ten years, at the end of which time it was stipulated that a plebiscite or popular vote of the inhabitants of the two provinces should be taken to determine whether they should become Chilean or should go back to Peru. It was further provided that the country which gained the provinces by the plebiscite should pay the loser 10,000,000 silver dollars. This sounds simple enough, yet the fact is that the plebiscite has never been held. The trouble has been that the two countries have been unable to agree upon the exact manner in which the vote should be taken, the terms and time for payment of the contingent indemnity, and other collateral matters.

Meanwhile Chile has kept possession of the provinces, with Peru continually endeavoring to get the plebiscite, since the provinces are of great value, containing as they do the famous nitrate deposits which are the chief source of Chile's present prosperity. So the negotiations have dragged on for a whole generation, at times rising to the pitch of a genuine international crisis, at other times half forgotten. The dispute has had an important influence upon South American his-

tory, determining in no small measure the rival political alignments of the South American States. The Chileans were particularly incensed by Peru's endeavor to get the dispute before the Versailles Peace Conference for adjudication, and threatened hostile action. Fortunately both the United States and several of the South American nations tendered their diplomatic good offices for an appeasement of the crisis, and the danger of war passed away, albeit the matter at issue remained as unsettled as before.

THE LESSER STATES

The lesser states of South America contributed little of interest. Ecuador and Peru were considerably disturbed by revolutionary outbreaks, while in the transitional period since the close of the European War the current wave of proletarian unrest has shown itself even in the remoter parts of the Continent. Uruguay, owing to its large foreign population and its proximity to Buenos Aires, had a regular Soviet plot, which was successfully handled by the authorities. Peru also went through a somewhat less acute cycle of labor disturbances. Colombia and Venezuela during the war displayed symptoms of pro-Germanism, mainly owing to the latent hostility to the United States which prevails in those two countries.

NEUTRALS OF THE NORTH

Two Scandinavian States Favor Allies and the Other Germany, But All Agree in Joint Neutrality

THE history of the three Scandinavian nations—Norway, Sweden, and Denmark—is the history of three peoples having much in common but sundered by intestine rivalries and memories of ancient family quarrels. The European War has done much to strengthen the feeling of mutual solidarity, for all three peoples remained neutral and all three suffered similar disadvantages and reaped similar benefits from their neutrality.

In the generation before the war Scandinavia was menaced by two strong neighbors—Germany from the south, and Russia from the east. From the standpoint of Scandinavian unity against aggression, this duality of danger was unfortunate. A single peril from the same quarter, threatening all alike, would probably have driven these kindred peoples forthwith together in a close defensive association. As it was, Denmark alone felt herself menaced by Germany, whom Sweden and

Norway considered a possible counterpoise against Russian aggression, while this same Russia was to Denmark a potential ally against German ambition. Yet, whosoever the potential foe might be, all three peoples had felt the danger of their exposed position in the troubled years preceding Armageddon, and in all three nations a "preparedness" movement had taken place. For this reason the outbreak of the European struggle found the Scandinavian nations fairly well equipped to defend themselves against a sudden breach of their neutrality.

The first impulse of the Scandinavian peoples after the outbreak of war was to concert common measures to maintain their neutrality. The warmest sentiments of Scandinavian solidarity were voiced in all three countries, and this unitary feeling showed itself in acts such as the meeting of the Scandinavian Kings at Malmö and the Swedish-Norwegian pledge not to fight against each other under any circumstances. Later on this sentiment of solidarity was slightly marred by the growth of divergent sympathies and antipathies entertained in the various Scandinavian countries toward the two sets of belligerents. This makes separate treatment of the Scandinavian nations necessary. Nevertheless, the basic harmony of Scandinavia was never broken, and since all three were spared actual hostilities, the sentiment of solidarity survived unbroken and flourishes today.

THE NEUTRALITY OF DENMARK

In Denmark the national psychology closely resembled that of Holland, the mass of the people being against war and in favor of strict neutrality and a resolute avoidance of foreign entanglements. On the whole, the Danish people were pro-Ally from the start, and this pro-Ally feeling steadily increased with the course of the war. For this pro-Ally feeling there were several reasons. To begin with, Prussia's seizure of Schleswig-Holstein a half century before had never been forgotten. Then again, mighty Germany had leaned heavily upon small Denmark and was regarded as the great potential peril to continued independence. Later on the U-boat war, taking heavy toll as it did of Danish shipping, aroused widespread indignation.

Still, there was never any thought of taking up arms and entering the war. Practically all Danes felt that this would have been suicidal, involving as it probably would have done a prompt German invasion by both land and



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King Frederick of Denmark

sea and the ruin of the whole country. The fate of Belgium was ever before Danish eyes.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

The collapse of Germany in 1918 brought the question of Schleswig-Holstein out of the realm of speculation into the field of political reality. Nevertheless, the Danes were not swept off their feet, taking an attitude toward the problem which reflected admirably their political maturity and sense of reality. Not-

withstanding the fact that this region had belonged entire to Denmark down to 1864, practically no Danes have any desire for the return of the more southerly of the two provinces—Holstein. They realize that Holstein is a solidly German-inhabited land. In fact, very few Danes wish to acquire even the whole of Schleswig. Danish aspirations are mainly confined to *North Schleswig*, the northern two-fifths of the province, adjoining the Danish province of Jutland. Here the Danish element in Schleswig is concentrated, numbering about 150,000 souls and constituting a majority of the population. The Versailles Peace Conference had decided that the political destiny of North Schleswig should be determined by a plebiscite or popular vote, and although at this writing that vote had not yet taken place, it was practically certain that North Schleswig would vote for reunion with Denmark, thus repairing the wrong done by Bismarck more than half a century before.

NORWAY: A WESTWARD-LOOKING LAND

Norway was from the first frankly pro-Ally. A few of the Norwegian "intellectuals" tended to be pro-German, but the popular sympathies were all for the Entente nations. This was natural, because traditional economic and cultural ties bound the Norwegians toward England and France. Russia was frankly feared, her longing for the warm-water harbors of the Norwegian North exciting universal suspicion and dread. But most Norwegians believed that England and France, rather than Germany, should be trusted to stay Russia's hand, and they therefore felt that Anglo-French friendship must at all costs be retained. Moreover, Norway's great merchant-marine and general economic life were entirely at the Western sea-powers' mercy. As the war went on everything tended to increase pro-Ally feeling. The Russian Revolution effaced the Russian peril, while Germany's U-boat campaign hit the Norwegian merchant-marine harder than any other except England's. The indignation at Germany's action was so great that some voices were raised for a declaration of war against Germany, but the popular aversion to war in general kept the country in its neutral course, the sober second thought of the

Norwegian people being opposed to the abandonment of neutrality except in case of a direct violation of Norwegian territorial integrity.

SWEDEN: A NATION OF GREAT MEMORIES

Sweden's attitude during the war differed notably from that of the other two Scandinavian nations. The Swedes are an intensely proud people, with a glorious past and a keen sense of national honor. Swedes never forget that during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries their country was a Great Power, and they recall with kindling hearts the days of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII. In fact, Sweden has never ceased to consider herself the predestined leader of a united and powerful Scandinavian North.

The bar to all such ambitions, and, in fact, the menace to national life itself, was Imperial Russia. It was Russian imperialism which had broken Sweden's greatness at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century and which, a century later, had torn away Finland. At the beginning of the present century the ruthless "Russification" of Finland, described in the chapter on that country, had alarmed Sweden still further, and this alarm had been roused to poignant terror when Russia had fortified the Åland Islands, only a short distance from the Swedish capital, Stockholm.

"ACTIVISM"

In her despairing terror at the approaching shadow of the Bear, Sweden turned more and more to Germany in the years preceding the World War, and when the war actually broke out Sweden burst into a chorus of anti-Russian and, by natural reflex, pro-German feeling. Noting with delight German assertions that the war must end only when the Russian colossus had been permanently crippled and thrown back from the Baltic, many Swedes began to consider the possibility of entering the war on Germany's side, striking a telling side-blow against Russia and thus winning back Finland as the reward of assistance to German arms, which most Swedes deemed likely to prove victorious. This war-like movement, known as "Activism," attracted men from all political parties and so-

cial classes, several prominent Socialists even supporting the Activist cause. Its main strength, however, came from the army, the intellectuals, and the conservative classes. The bulk of the Socialists were strongly opposed to war and fought vigorously for the maintenance of neutrality.

Activism was strongest after the great German victories over Russia in the autumn of 1915 and during the following year. The Russian Revolution of March, 1917, cooled Sweden's warlike ardor by removing, for the immediate future at any rate, the menace of predatory Czarism. To be sure, interest in Finland nearly caused Sweden to lend aid when the White Guard government of General Mannerheim appealed to her for assistance against the combined Finnish Red Guards and Russian Bolsheviks. But Sweden kept out for two reasons; first, because she had begun to distrust German ambitions in the Baltic and had no wish to be made the Teuton's cat's-paw; second, because the Swedish Socialists vowed that they would start a revolution if the government went to war against those whom they regarded as "comrades." So Sweden did nothing, and Germany aided Mannerheim instead, not only sending German divisions to Finland proper, but also occupying the Aland Islands. This was a very sore point with Sweden, and completed the conversion of the once pro-German Activists, who, as patriotic Swedes, had no desire to see Germany their master in place of Czarist Russia. Thus, during the last year of the war, Sweden was genuinely neutral, the collapse of Imperial Germany being hailed in many circles with positive joy.

SWEDEN AND FINLAND

The chief question which has interested Swedes since the close of the war has been their future relations with Finland. Despite the long historical connection of the two countries, there is little likelihood of political reunion. The bulk of the Finnish population are of an entirely different race and speak a different language. Only the upper and mid-

dle classes in Finland have much Swedish blood, the Swedish element in Finland not numbering more than 12 per cent. To be sure, the native Finns owe their religion and civilization to Sweden, but they have no wish to become a Swedish dependency.



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Gustav, King of Sweden

Most Swedes, however, recognize this, and desire only a close understanding. That, even the anti-Swedish Finns will probably be glad to accede to in the years to come, for Russia has not reconciled herself to the loss of Finland and might try to subjugate the country once more.

INDEPENDENT BOHEMIA

With the Collapse of Austria, the Czechs of Bohemia Establish a Solidly Slavic Republic

THE WOES OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

IN the long strip of land running due east and west across east-central Europe and comprising the three historic divisions of Bohemia, Moravia, and the Tatra or Western Carpathians, live the Czechs and their kinsmen the Slovaks. Some two million of the latter and some six million of the former constitute a very solid and progressive branch of the Slav race. Before the victory of the Allies wrecked the polyglot Hapsburg empire, the Czechs and Slovaks were among the most important and the most oppressed nationalities of Austria-Hungary. Their slavery dates back to the seventeenth century. In the early Middle Ages the Kingdom of Bohemia, which had absorbed Moravia, was one of the leading states of Europe. But little by little German merchants and artisans began to descend into the plains of the country and gave a Teutonic character to the Bohemian towns. The terrible Hussite wars were in fact bitter rebellions against this encroachment of Germanism, and their effect was to check it for a full century. But in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), when the struggle was renewed, the Czechs were beaten. The Hapsburg conquerors, champions of Germanism, took a terrible revenge upon the rebellious Czechs. Bohemia and Moravia were half depopulated. The old Czech nobility was rooted out. Large estates were given to foreigners, mostly Austrian Germans. From that time on the Czech peasantry, deprived of its leaders and mercilessly oppressed, sank lower and lower into a political and cultural stupor which resembled death. Outwardly the land was completely Germanized. The Czech language was spoken only among the peasants.

THE NATIONAL AWAKENING

But the nineteenth century saw a happy change. The great nationalistic wave which

swept the world did not leave the Czechs untouched. A vigorous national revival began. Economic prosperity created a strong Czech middle class, educated and patriotic, able and willing to furnish national leaders. Step by step, against the most bitter and stubborn opposition of the ruling race, the Czechs drove the German minority from its position of privilege. By the beginning of the twentieth century the Czechs were in political control of Bohemia and Moravia. Their representatives in the Austrian House of Deputies were carrying on a powerful struggle for complete autonomy of these provinces. In return the German minority passionately and bitterly opposed the rising tide of Czech supremacy, and, in the face of its success, openly preached secession from Austria to the German Empire. The distracted Hapsburg dynasty did not know what to do. Only the personal popularity of the aged Francis Joseph was able to keep together the many-peopled and crumbling empire. The demands of the Czechs were refused, however, and they immediately turned to Russia as a source of Slavic salvation. Thus when the World War broke out in 1914, Bohemia and Moravia were seething with nationalistic aspirations, violent race hatreds, and a mad unrest.

THE CZECHS AND THE WAR

This unrest burst out into a tremendous movement for independence as the war progressed. A minority of the Czechs, to be sure, remained loyal to the Hapsburgs. Typical of Czech loyalist sentiment is the comment of the *Hlas Haroda* of Prague: "The crime of Serajevo revealed, as by a lightning flash, the monarchy's deplorable situation. . . . But, at one stroke, all dissension disappeared. In vain did the enemy make advances to the non-German nationalities." But this was by no means

the temper of the Czech majority. From time to time news would leak out, through the close censorship maintained by Austria, of a great national and separatist movement. Bohemia's chief hope was Russia. Against their Slav brothers many of them refused to fight. Then there took place one of the most cruel events of the whole war. The empire drove conscripts to fight in an Army they hated and for a

diers voluntarily surrendered to the Russians, upon whom they looked as saviors. The chief leaders of the movement, Professor T. G. Masaryk and Dr. Edward Benes, made their escape to Allied countries where they sought aid for struggling Bohemia in its fight against Teutonic domination. Thousands of Czechs made their way to France where they joined French regiments. In attempting to suppress



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Prague, Capital of Czechoslovakia

The photo shows the royal castle and behind it the steeples of St. Vitas's Cathedral.

cause which they considered barbarous. National leaders were thrown into jail. Many of them were condemned to death. As the national movement grew stronger Austria resorted to more and more brutal repressive measures. Wholesale arrests were made. Houses were ordered to be closed at eight o'clock and public places at nine. Hungarian regiments were poured into Prague to guard the population. In other cities the local police was replaced by more reliable state police. The result of all these attempts to suppress the national movement which heaved like an angry ocean was to increase its scope and power. Thousands upon thousands of Czech sol-

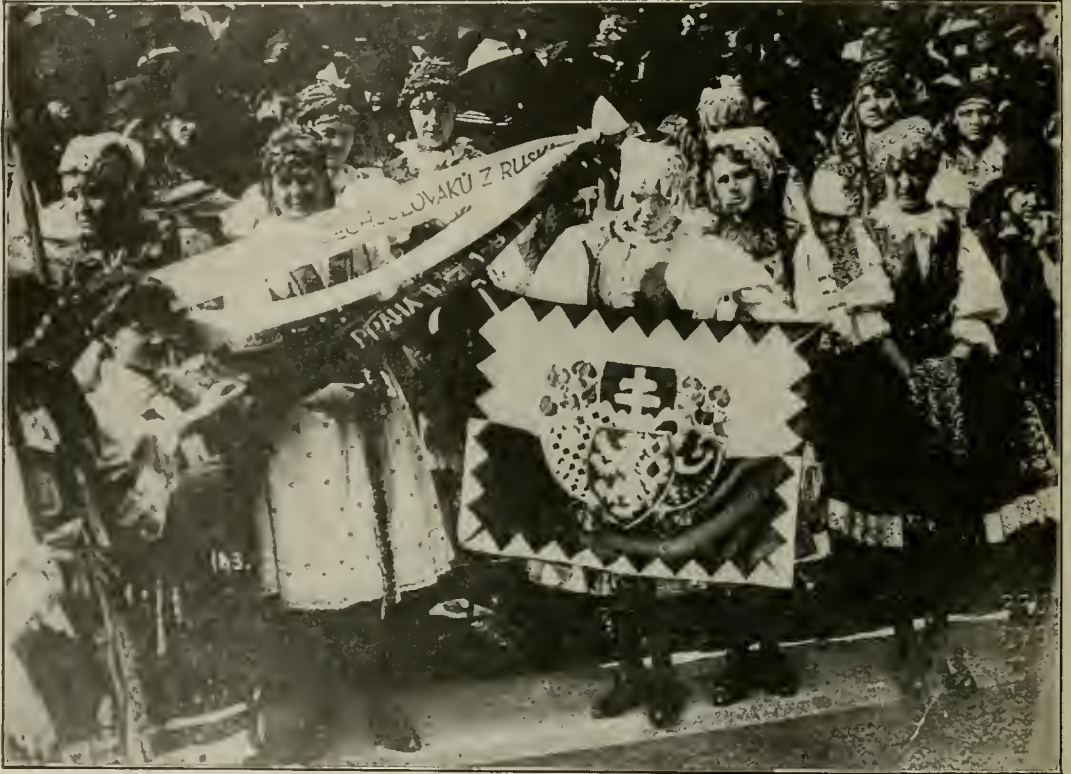
Czech national aspirations Austria was sitting on a live volcano.

PROFESSOR MASARYK'S ARMY

For three years Bohemia's unorganized rebellion was a thorn in Austria's flesh. It was not, however, until 1918, that the nationalistic groups among the Czechoslovaks came to an understanding with the Allies which assured the downfall of the Hapsburg Empire and the erection of an independent Czechoslovakia. This momentous result in the history of oppressed peoples was due mainly to the efforts of Professor Masaryk. For almost half a

century this great Bohemian scholar had been a champion of his people. Both as a teacher in the University of Prague and as a member of Parliament he had held high the banner of Czech nationalism. The result of his efforts was that he gained the enmity of Austria. In the first year of the war the threat of imprisonment and even death forced him to flee. In England and in the United States he car-

mand of the French military staff, but in political matters it was under the direction of the Czechoslovak National Council with its headquarters in Paris. This was greeted enthusiastically by Czechs and Slovaks the world over. It was a first great step in the direction of national freedom. "Professor Masaryk's Army," as it was popularly called, was hailed as a prelude to Allied recognition.



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Czechoslovak Girls in Native Costumes

Pupils of a feminine school of Arts and Sciences in Prague presenting to officers returned from Siberia a hand-made national flag.

ried on a campaign of education, and when he finally convinced the Allies of the justice of his cause, they permitted the formation of a Bohemian Army at the close of 1917. This Army was composed of the Czechoslovaks serving in the French Army, of volunteers from among the million and a half Czechoslovaks in the United States, and of those Czech soldiers who had surrendered to Russia, Rumania, Serbia, and Italy, and who had fought on the side of the Allies. This Army was placed, for military purposes, under the com-

At the same time a Czech Army was formed in Russia out of the Czechs who had surrendered to the Slav kinsmen.

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

While the Army was fighting on various fronts against the Central Powers, Czechoslovak patriots were carrying on the struggle for liberty at home and abroad in more peaceful but equally effective ways. On April 2, 1918, a great meeting was held in Prague at-

tended by all the Czech deputies, as well as representatives of the universities, literary and artistic societies, and practically all classes. It was a solemn demonstration of Czechoslovak solidarity, and an assurance to Professor Masaryk, the Czechoslovak Army, and the Entente, that nothing would shake the resistance of the Czechs against Berlin, Vienna, and Budapest. The purpose of the meeting was to protest against Count Czernin's description of the "wretched, miserable Masaryk." The representatives of the whole nation stood up to swear that under all circumstances they would persist in the struggle for independence. By August the National Council was in full swing at Prague, organizing all the resources of the province. And all the while Czech leaders were winning aid and sympathy among the great Allied nations.

THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC

Early in October it became clear that Austria's last hour had struck. The powerful blows on the Piave which the Austrian troops were receiving at the hands of the Italians were shaking the whole Empire. Soon the domains of the Hapsburgs would be but a memory. Realizing this, the leader of the Czech deputies in the Austrian Parliament, M. Stanek, arose on October 2d and proclaimed that the sympathies of the whole Czechoslovak nation were with the Czechoslovak Army on the side of the Entente. Austria would have to negotiate with representatives of this Army and not with the Czech leaders in Bohemia. Soon afterwards the Czech deputies left the Reichsrath in a body. The ties with Austria were severed forever. Less than two weeks later, the National Council at Paris, consisting of Professor Masaryk, Dr. Benes, and General Stefanik, constituted itself a provisional government. They issued a declaration of independence. This was the signal for revolt. Into the side of tottering Austria the Czechs in Bohemia drove the sword of liberty. It needed only one good blow to hurl the Hapsburg tyranny into oblivion. This blow was delivered by President Wilson. On October 19th he notified Austria, who was pleading for peace, that mere autonomy would not be enough for Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia. These peoples must be allowed to de-

cide their own destinies. Starving and exhausted Vienna saw that the game was up. A few days later Austria accepted President Wilson's terms. She recognized the claims of her two vassal nations to independence. Thus she sealed her death-warrant. A week later she signed the armistice, and with that last gesture of despair collapsed. Immediately the Czech National Council through its representatives in Prague took over the reins of power. Great demonstrations took place in the streets. The new republic was frantically cheered; Masaryk, Wilson, and the Allies were cheered. Allied flags fluttered from windows filled with happy faces. There was no violence, no bloodshed. The people were unanimously for the revolution. On November 14th the National Assembly met, and in a short while the Czechoslovak Republic was functioning in a full, free way. Prague turned to the problems of reconstruction with new vigor. Shopkeepers hung out signs, "Business as usual, if you please." Patriotic entertainments and celebrations filled the nights. Mines and factories began to work up to full speed. All over the country the new freedom was celebrated with joy.

THE GERMAN-MAGYAR MINORITIES

But the mere proclamation of a republic did not usher in the millennium for Czechoslovakia any more than it did for Russia, Hungary, or Austria. Bohemia is seething as much as ever with the passionate feuds of races. Only this time it is the Czechs who are in control. The first problem which confronted the new government with Masaryk at the head—a problem as yet unsolved—was that of the Germans and Magyars, who once so cruelly oppressed the Czechs and were now rebelling against the new order. The German element, stirred up by emissaries from Berlin, tried to overthrow the republic. The German consul at Prague fomented rebellion in northern Bohemia. As a result sanguinary engagements took place between German civilians and Czech soldiers. Dr. Schwarz, a German agent, spread a whole net of espionage and propaganda to overthrow the new régime. At the same time the Magyars were intriguing in Slovakia. Budapest was wild at the thought of losing that fertile province, and was doing all in its power to stir up the peasants to

rebel. The district was so rich in woodland, ores, water-power, grain, and scenery that the Magyars made frenzied attempts to tear it away from the Czech republic. The entire country, as a result, was a caldron of revolution. The control of the country is passing from the old hands to the new only with much violence and confusion.

THE WAR AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

Trouble with Austria and Hungary was further complicated by the lapse of the latter into Bolshevism and the danger of the former in succumbing to similar doctrines. As has been described in another connection, the Czech troops, in gratitude for Allied aid, offered to combat Bolshevism in Russia. Now that Communism had spread to Hungary, Czechoslovakia was in danger itself and had to join the Allies in combating its spread. Czech troops were battering away at Hungary on the north, while Rumanian, Entente, and Jugoslav troops were surrounding the Red state on other sides. From the north the strong and well-disciplined Czech troops swept the Red forces before them until they were within forty miles of Budapest. Only the command of the Paris Conference prevented them from entering the Communist capital. They continued to hold the ground, pending negotiations between the Entente and the Hungarian Bolsheviks. At the same time the new state of Czechoslovakia, like the rest of continental Europe, was faced with Bolshevism within its own borders. Through Poland, Russian agitators had been pouring in and spreading the seductive doctrines of communism. A strong socialist movement in Czechoslovakia, though opposed to Bolshevism, still prepared the ground for more extreme theories. Nevertheless, the Masaryk government had been able to combat the movement successfully, so that in April the President himself was able to report to the Allies that, "The anti-Bolshevist movement in Bohemia is gaining strength. Social Democrat Deputies Huděk, Pík, and Modráček are founding a new

daily, the aim of which is to present a united Socialistic front to Bolshevism."

THE TESCHEN QUESTION

In addition to the struggle with Bolshevik Hungary, the new republic of Czechoslovakia clashed with the new republic of Poland over the question of Teschen. This district is a narrow strip of land lying between Czech Moravia and Polish Galicia. With the exception of Fiume and Danzig, the disposition of the Teschen district was perhaps the thorniest territorial problem which the Peace Conference had to solve. Premier Paderewski hurried to Paris not only to obtain Danzig for the Polish state, but equally bent upon Teschen. At the same time the Czechoslovaks were determined to hold on to the district. The valuable coal mines which it contained made it a prize to be contended for. Each of the claimants put forward evidence that the land was predominantly inhabited by their respective peoples. At one time the crisis became so serious that it seemed as if both parties would resort to violence. This was indeed a delicate situation for the Peace Conference. It was supplying Poland with arms and munitions to fight the Russian Reds, but how could it be sure that Poland would not use the same materials against the Czechoslovaks? And the Czechoslovaks were also under the protection of the Entente. In fact, the Czechslovak delegates were sitting at the same table with the Polish peace delegates. The situation grew more serious when the two republics conflicted in Silesian territory. The friction soon grew so intense that actual fighting ensued. A struggle broke out between the two peoples which added more blood and confusion to a Europe already red with blood and black with chaos. It was one of the chief and most difficult tasks of the Paris Conference to adjust the conflicting claims of Poland and Czechoslovakia, complicated by German claims to certain Silesian districts where the two others also have aspirations, and where neither side would willingly yield to the other.

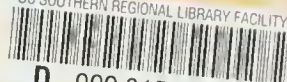
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